

**Peril or Promise: The Realities of the Implementation of
Mother Tongue/ Language Policy in the Rural Primary Classrooms of Uganda**

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Dedication

To my wife Agatha Asiimwe and children Alvis Asiimwe,

Lucas Musherure and Chloe Atwine who are my

unsung heroes of this journey.

May God richly bless you for your support.

Declaration of Originality

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for a degree or diploma by the University or any other institution, except by way of background information and duly acknowledged in the thesis, and to the best of my knowledge and belief no material previously published or written by another person except where due acknowledgement is made in the text of the thesis, nor does the thesis contain any material that infringes copyright.

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- I. Michael Muzoora and Daniel R. (2015). African higher education: The renaissance and reformation of language. *In Si Fan, Thao Le, and Quynh Le (Eds). Linguistics and Language Education in New Horizons: The Link between Theory, Research and Pedagogy* ISBN: 978-1-63482-800-0 New York: Nova Science Publishers
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Statement of Ethical Conduct

The research associated with this thesis abides by the international and Australian codes on human and animal experimentation, the guidelines by the Australian Government's Office of the Gene Technology Regulator and the rulings of the Safety, Ethics and Institutional Biosafety Committees of the University.

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Abstract

There is a growing global trend that envisions the use of mother tongue instruction in children's early years of formal education. For decades mother tongue (MT) medium of instruction (MoI) in the early years of school has been supported by a wealth of research literature as fundamental in early literacy attainment. The Uganda Government developed a MT MoI policy in an effort to increase literacy in rural children attending formal education through familiar languages. It was envisaged that this would promote improvement in early numeracy and literacy, encourage more children to attend school, encourage parents to send children to school and give all children quality and equitable education. The policy was passed in the 1992 Government White Paper, following the recommendations of the 1989 Kajubi report on education. The policy was given more prominence in 2000 with the revision of the primary school curriculum and later in 2007 with the introduction and implementation of the thematic curriculum that re-emphasised use of non-dominant languages (NDLs) as the medium of instruction in the rural primary classrooms

This study explored the perils and promises of this mother tongue language policy in rural schools of Uganda. The choice of language as the medium of instruction in schools at both policy and implementation level in Uganda continues to be controversial with issues of cultural tension, feasibility, national unity, modernity and globalisation being matters worthy of investigation. The central focus of the study was the implementing teacher. The investigation used a qualitative approach using a case study methodology to guide the study.

Data were collected for four months from six schools in two rural districts in the central region of Uganda.

The study revealed that the current MT policy showed positive gains in terms of mind-set and practical realities in the area of mother tongue MoI in the rural classrooms. The use of MT enabled better understanding among learners, bridged the gap between the school and community, improved teacher- learner interaction, and helped to build identity and self-worth in students. The findings also suggested, however, continued perils that were psychological, social and pedagogical in nature, such as the continued use of English in examinations, and a lack of teacher training and materials in appropriate MT languages. These findings imply that acquisition of MT languages and their use in the classroom has still not yet fully achieved the desired outcomes. The findings of the study suggest a lack of consideration of sociolinguistic and socio-economic realities when planning for program creation and implementation as well as a lack of involvement of stakeholders at the local level. The study identified a need for an approach that embeds policy and implementation planning at all levels of the system as well as a legal framework and further research to support the policy. Such considerations would ultimately contribute to the attainment of stable and lasting multilingual as well as cognitively enriching effects and attainment of literacy in rural students in Uganda.

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List of Acronyms

| | |
|----------------|--|
| A Level | Advanced Level |
| ALs | Area Languages |
| BICS | Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills |
| CA | Continuous Assessment |
| CALP | Academic/Cognitive Language Proficiency |
| CASAS | Centre for Advanced Studies of African Society |
| CBDOS | Community based development intervention Organisations |
| CDS | Curriculum Development Specialist |
| DEOs | District Education Officers |
| DIS | District Inspector of Schools |
| EU | European Union |
| GoU | Government of Uganda |
| L1 | The first language or mother tongue also called the home language. |
| L2 | The second language learned at school for educational purpose |
| LABE | Literacy and Adult Basic Education |
| LL | Local Language |
| LoI | Language of instruction |
| LOITASA | Language of Instruction in Tanzania and South Africa |
| LPP | Language Policy and Planning |
| LS | Language Specialist |
| MOES | Ministry of Education and Sports |
| MoI | Medium of instruction |
| MT | Mother Tongue |
| NAPE | National Assessment of Progress in Education |

| | |
|----------------|--|
| NCDC | National Curriculum Development Centre |
| NDLs | Non-Dominant Languages |
| NGOs | Non-Governmental Organisations |
| O Level | Ordinary Level |
| PE | Physical Education |
| PLE | Primary Leaving Examinations |
| PPCT | Process-Person-Context-Time model |
| SACMEQ | Southern and Eastern Africa Consortium for Monitoring Education Quality |
| SIL | Summer Institute of Linguistics |
| SoI | Subject of instruction |
| UACE | Uganda Advanced Certificate of Education |
| UBoS | Uganda Bureau of Statistics |
| UCE | Uganda Certificate of Education |
| UGX | Uganda Shillings |
| UN | United Nations |
| UNEB | Uganda National Examination Board |
| UNESCO | United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation |
| UWEZO | “Capacity” in Kiswahili- are large scale household assessments that measure actual levels of children’s literacy and numeracy in East Africa (Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania). |

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to present an overview of the study. It will highlight the context of the study, purpose and significance, research methodology, limitations as well as the outline to all the chapters in the remainder of the study.

“A quadrangle school building surrounded by round huts” (Odora, 1994, p. 49).

When approaching issues of contemporary education in Africa, the Ugandan educational researcher Odora (1994) sets a central stage that compels us to come to terms with the realities of the present educational systems and local niches within which the formal process of schooling exists. This is very relevant because this study was carried out in the rural areas of Uganda, many of which still reflect many aspects of the above analogy.

Implying a form of misfit in the education system and its environment, Doriani and Boruch (2014) argue that this schooling model is an embodiment of the colonial history of which language in education is a major part.

In a bid to promote quality in formal education, Uganda, as well as other African states, has borrowed well intentioned education based theories from the developed world to guide and promote school success (Heugh, 2009, 2012). Some of these theoretical bases however have had a propensity to have unintentional detrimental outcomes in terms of applicability to the African context (Heugh, 2012). Consequently, the education has not always been sufficient to cater for the learning needs of the African rural learners, to prepare them for life and service to society. Doriani and Boruch (2014) argued that such models in education have been identified with structural inequality, self-hatred, and discrimination and in many instances have displaced the learners from their environment (Brock-Utne 2013). This has consequently quashed the link between the home and the school

environment. Part of these theoretical bases also form an interplay in the language-in-education policies in Uganda, which is the major focus of this study. It is on this basis that the government of Uganda instituted a language-in-education policy providing rural children access to education in mother tongue/area language instruction in their first years at school. It was envisaged that this would promote improvement in early numeracy and literacy, encourage more children to attend school, encourage parents to send children to school and access to quality and equitable education (Government of Uganda [GoU], 1992). It was anticipated that it would make the education and languages in the classrooms more relevant and meaningful to the learners and as such incentive learning as well as bridging the gap between school and society.

Uganda in general, is a multilingual and multi-ethnic country with the population spread throughout the four regions; namely the Northern, Eastern, Western and Central regions. The ethnic groups are broadly distinguished by their ethnic dialects or mother tongue (MT); Uganda has over 60 indigenous languages however the government officially recognises 36 indigenous languages to be used in education (Azerbaijani, 2008; Ward, Penny, & Read, 2006). Despite recognising the various languages the government has also recommended six area languages that were recommended by the Castle Report in 1963. These recommendations were adopted within the language policy for rural areas (GoU, 1992).

The ‘early exit’ model proposed for and implemented in rural area schools commenced with mother tongue/area language from Primary one (P1) to Primary four (P4). This position was later adjusted to Primary three (P3) under a Ministry of Education circular (MOES circular No 3/05 of 10th January), with P4 becoming the transitional class to English medium and finally switching to a complete English medium of instruction (MoI) from Primary five (P5) throughout the remaining primary cycle concluding at Primary

seven (P7). From 1992 until 1996 the mother tongue policy received little attention. In 1996, as a result of the Presidents' pledge to provide free education for four children in every family, more attention was given to the policy to effectively meet the Government's intention of access to numeracy and literacy for the increased enrolments in rural area schools. In practice, the mother tongue language policy was implemented as part of the 2000/2002 primary curriculum. Given there were varied interpretations from the implementers, inadequate reading and teaching materials available, not properly established orthographies and not sufficient trained teachers the impact on the quality of education countrywide was varied (Altinyelken, 2010; Altinyelken, Moorcroft, & van der Draai, 2013; Ward, Penny, & Read, 2006; Penny, Ward, Read, & Bines, 2008)). In fact, according to Benjamin (2010), the 1992 mother tongue policy adopted by Government for the public schools was "far more successful in elucidating the rationale for mother tongue than it was in ensuring mother tongue usage" (p. 144). Consequently, a primary curriculum review in 2003-2004 led to the Thematic Curriculum in 2007 which further boosted the mother tongue policy. It emphasized use of non-dominant languages (NDLs) as MoI in rural classrooms and study themes that related to the local educational needs and environment of the learners for literacy, numeracy, life skills and values development (Abiria, 2011; Altinyelken, 2010). The term NDLs will operationally be used in this research to mean African languages used in the classrooms as MoI as compared to dominant languages such as English and French (including mother tongue, area languages, vernaculars or local languages).

The language policy in education also directs that Kiswahili and English be taught as compulsory subjects to all children throughout the primary cycle, in both rural and urban areas with more emphasis gradually being placed on Kiswahili. The relevant area language or mother tongue is also taught as a subject in primary schools in both rural and urban

areas however, pupils may or may not be offered this subject for the primary leaving examinations (GoU, 1992).

The six area languages (ALs) outlined in the policy and reaffirmed in a Ministry document (MOES Circular No 3/05 of 10th January) include Luo, Luganda, Lugbara, Runyankole/Rukiga, Ateso/Akirimajong and Runyoro/Rutoro. These ALs are MTs to some larger groups, but also second languages to other ethnic groups but do not however cover the whole country (Parry, 1999). This is due to the fact that Ugandan societies are predominantly multilingual where communities speak and understand several languages proficiently. Where such complexities do not exist however, MT is used. These area languages are illustrated in a social dialect illustration by Parry (1999) in figure 1 below:

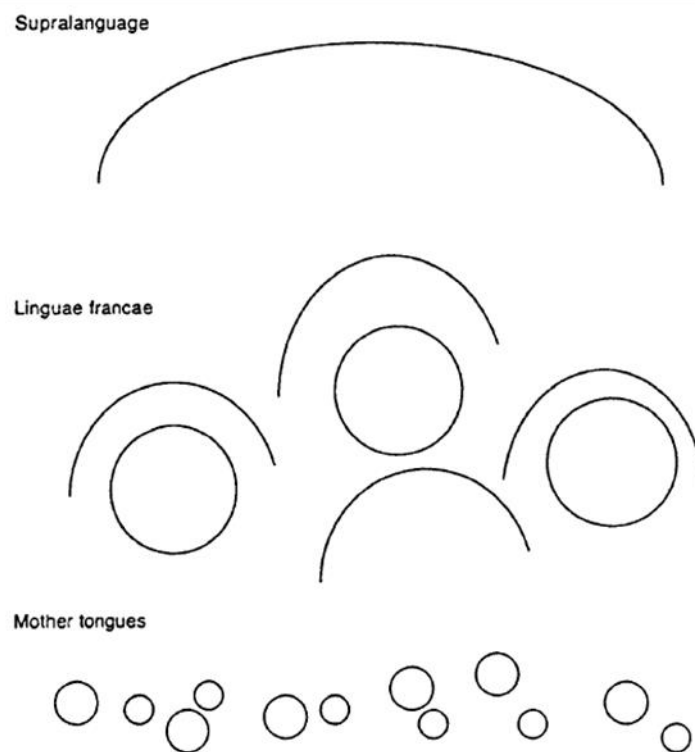


Figure 1. Sociolinguistic relationships in multilingual African contexts (Parry, 1999).

The various dialects that are over 60 in number represented by the small circles are the various MTs. The larger circles with larger semi circles represent languages that are

MT as well, but are for larger groups. These MTs are used by other ethnic communities as second languages however, they are limited to particular regions and do not therefore cover the whole country. A case in point is Luganda which is a MT to its native speakers-Baganda but also used by non-native speakers within Buganda and communities in the Eastern part of Uganda as an area and second language. The semi-circle without a complete circle beneath represents Kiswahili while the large arc at the top represents the international languages or supra language (English).

Complexities in the social dialects as illustrated above are what warranted the consideration and inclusion of area languages in the mother tongue language-education policy in rural areas. A more detailed discussion on area languages is captured in Chapters 2 & 5. Table 1 below shows a summary of the language policy in the rural primary schools in Uganda.

Table 1. A Summary of the Language Policy in Rural Primary Schools

| Languages | Class | | | | | | |
|----------------|-------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| | P1 | P2 | P3 | P4 | P5 | P6 | P7 |
| Local Language | MI+S | MI+S | MI+S | MI+S | S | S | |
| English | S | S | S | S | MI+S | MI+S | MI+S |
| Kiswahili | | | | S | S | S | S |

Note. Adapted from the Uganda Primary School Curriculum: Vol. 2 (2000, p. 284). MI=Medium of Instruction, S=Subject

Aims, Objectives and Research Questions

For purposes of this study focus was put on the rural areas of Uganda with particular attention to two rural districts of Kayunga and Mpigi in the central region of the country. The study aimed to investigate the realities of the implementation of mother tongue/area languages in the rural classrooms of Kayunga and Mpigi districts. It explored the dispositions, views, attitudes and other factors that impacted upon rural teachers'

implementation of the mother tongue policy. A baseline study conducted by Uganda's curriculum development centre at the start of the thematic curriculum in 2007, and later followed up in 2008 called for advocacy at policy level, to address the attitudes of various stakeholders towards the thematic curriculum and local language use in schools. It also called for a need to adequately sustain the use of local languages and the thematic curriculum basing on support from government (Ward et al., 2006). Part of this study was to follow up on what the Ministry of Education had done to address the issue of attitudes. Finally, to place the study into context, an investigation was done to the historical development of language-in-education in Uganda.

This was achieved through the following research questions:

1. What are the beliefs, attitudes and factors impacting teachers' effective implementation of the mother tongue/area language policy in the rural areas?
2. What is the historical development of language-in-education in Uganda education system?
3. How do the teachers actually implement this policy in reality in the classroom?
4. What measures has the ministry of education taken in addressing attitudes towards the implementation of the policy among the stakeholders?

The study was limited to the rural areas of Kayunga and Mpigi districts in Uganda. Kayunga is a rural district with a population of 294,613 people according to the 2002

census who are majorly agriculturalists (Uganda Bureau of Statistics [UBoS], 2006). It is also one of the most highly multilingual districts in Uganda and has a total of 256 primary schools (167 public and 89 private schools). The fact that it is located in the central region automatically makes Luganda the area language (AL) since it is located in the Buganda region. The majority of the population are non-native speakers of Luganda having migrated to the region for several reasons, including natural disasters, cultural clashes, and desire for fertile lands. Mpigi, on the other hand, according to the 2002 census has a population of 187,800 people (UBoS, 2006). It is primarily rural though a small part displays semi-urban characteristics since it is located about 37 km from the capital city, Kampala. The major economic activity is agriculture and there are a total of 300 primary schools with 110 public primary schools, 190 private primary schools. The major local language (LL) also the area language is Luganda by virtue of being in the central region (Buganda), however the district also hosts a number of diverse ethnic groups from other regions of the country. All the districts employ the current formal education system in Uganda which promotes two bilingual language models for use as MoI in rural and urban classrooms as per language policy discussed above. A further discussion on the two districts is revisited in Chapter 4.

Significance of the Study

According to the 1992 policy, the mother tongue policy was adopted as an emphasis to overcome knowledge and language irrelevancies in the classroom, promote improvement in early numeracy and literacy, encourage more children to attend school, encourage parents to send children to school and give all children quality and equitable education. Studies have also shown over the years that instruction in a familiar language can promote effective learning (Doriani & Boruch, 2014; Ejie, 2004; Thomas & Collier,

2002; Zubeida, 2003). Indeed the literature on mother tongue attests that children will benefit cognitively, culturally, socially and linguistically when taught in their mother tongue as a medium of instruction in the early years of school (Cummins, 2001, 2008; Prah, 2003). Evidence available on implementation of the current policy however seems to suggest otherwise. Data show that from 2000 to 2012 there were continued numbers of dropouts, repetition rates and number of pupils completing primary school level with little or no literacy in both mother tongue and English (Benjamin, 2010; Jones, Schipper., Ruto., & Rajani., 2014; Sumra & Mugo, 2012; UNEB, 2005; UNESCO, 2012; UWEZO, 2012). The Ministry of Education (2012), data showed that out of the 1,763,284 pupils that joined P1 in 2006 across the country, only 564,804 registered for Primary Leaving Examinations (PLE) this year [2013], signifying that a total of 68% did not complete. Similarly, these finding were further collaborated by the Uganda national examination board in the National Assessment of Progress in Education (NAPE) studies (UNEB, 1999, 2005, & 2010). The 1999 NAPE study attributed the poor performances at P6 as well as the low literacy levels in English and mother tongue to lack of comprehension in English and ignoring the mother tongue medium of instruction (UNEB 1999). Similar results are highlighted by the primary school curriculum review in 2003. It revealed that performance levels had not significantly improved in the past five years particularly in rural areas (Ward et al., 2006).

The study explored this mismatch by capturing the views of the teachers as final implementers of the policy. Altinyelken (2010); Dyer (1999), supported the intention of this study by advancing that, in developing countries, sufficient analytical attention has not been given to the implementation process and as a consequence limited information base for policy makers to tap. This study focused on implementation process to develop the knowledge on processes of change, problems arising in the process and emerging issues.

The study looked at the challenges encountered in the implementation process and how these challenges were met. The study investigated how the Ministry of Education has tried to address the attitudes of various stakeholders to support the policy.

This study will contribute to the improved implementation of the language policy in education in Uganda by providing data that recognises teachers' dispositions, practices and attitudes. More so how such factors impact on the implementation process of mother tongue/area language policy (MacLaughlin, 1998).

Research Methodology

To answer the objectives and research questions, an empirical study was utilised through qualitative research using a case study. This methodology was guided by a social constructivist paradigm to provide a justification for the theoretical underpinnings of the study. Qualitative data were collected using semi structured interviews of rural mother tongue implementing teachers; observations were carried out in the classrooms and documents were also analysed. Key participants were selected from the two districts - namely Mpigi and Kayunga - located in the central part of Uganda. Such key participants were knowledgeable in the area of mother tongue education and directly involved in the education process. This was achieved through purposive snow-ball sampling. Eighteen (18) participants from the two districts in six sampled schools were interviewed and their classroom practice observed. Document analysis involved collecting data from Government documents and Government and private owned newspapers. The data collected were transcribed and analysed using thematic analysis guided by the induction method or bottom-up approach. Data were coded and organised into categories and further developed by relationships within and between categories to form themes for proper analysis.

Limitations

The study limited its focus to mother tongue education in rural primary schools of Uganda. This limitation excludes adult literacy in local languages. This has enabled a more explicit study in the use of local languages in educational reform at this level of study.

Researcher's Position

The researcher is a teacher and social scientist, who has taught in the secondary school classrooms of Uganda and at University level in Uganda, this study was therefore viewed from an educational perspective. The researcher's interests in the study emanated from the experiences encountered in the very early school years, as well as having witnessed rural children in their efforts to attain literacy through a foreign language. The nature of social relations in the Ugandan context are built on extended family relations, so holiday time or school breaks the researcher spent such breaks at ancestral home (village) to assist elderly relatives and also to attain a form of learning that was not given in school. Teachers that have taught in secondary school and University too could attest the effects of the language problem in education.

The researcher came to broaden this interest further while at the University of Oslo in the Department of Education, where the researcher interacted with well-established and prominent scholars in the field of education, curriculum and language in developing countries[in the South]. These researchers inspired the researcher deeply. The researcher's view is that a positive contribution to this field of study through a PhD would add to the voices working towards providing African rural children access to knowledge in a language familiar to them. This would consequently contribute to the development of the Continent as a whole and Uganda in particular.

The Structure of the Thesis

The study is divided into six Chapters. Chapter 2, provides an historical view of the development of language use in Ugandan education and directly addresses Research Question 2. The education system is investigated and in particular the teaching of language and its use as a medium for instruction examined. The chapter further explores in, an historical context, the background of language policy and implementation in Uganda. It also explores the Ugandan languages in general.

Chapter 3 explores literature on studies done in this area and some theories guiding the study. The study considers the potential implementation of the language policy of 1992 in rural Ugandan schools. The first part looks at a general debate on language implementation in education. The second part explores the different types of literacy and language education models used in the implementation of language educational policy. These models are analysed in terms of their design features, potential outcomes and relevancy to this study.

Chapter 4 outlines the methodology used in the study. This includes the research questions, model of the study, justification of the research method employed and development of various research instruments for data collection and analysis. Chapter, 5 reports the findings of the study and Chapter 6 makes a discussion of the findings and brings the study to a conclusion.

Conclusion

In summary, this chapter gives an overview of the overall layout of the study. It outlines the aims and objectives of the study, the background of the issue to be investigated and the relevance of the study. The next chapter introduces the context (space)

and background of the study, by looking at Uganda in general, its education system, a historical narrative of the development of the language policy in education to understand better the magnitude and reasons for the study.

CHAPTER 2

Context and Background to the Study

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a context for the Ugandan education system, and explore in a historical perspective the background of language policy and its implementation in Uganda. The chapter will explore the development of language policy over time; implications of particular policies in contexts that impact on language policy development, and present an informed analysis of language-in-education policy and implementation in Uganda. In so doing, the chapter will place into context events in both Europe and Africa to provide a more historically focused understanding of policy, and the intricacies in implementation that is the centre of this study (RQ 2).

General background on Uganda

Uganda is situated in the interior of East Africa. It is a country landlocked by five neighbouring countries: the Democratic Republic of Congo in the West, Rwanda in the South West, Tanzania in the South, Kenya in the East, and the Republic of Southern Sudan in the North. It covers a total area of 241,038km², and of this 197,323km² is land and 36,330km² is water (UBoS, 2007). Uganda lies between latitudes 4 degrees North and 2 degrees South and longitudes 29 degrees and 35 degrees East and is 3,609 feet above sea level. Temperatures vary between 16-26 degrees Celsius for most of the year, while in the hot months temperatures can reach up to 30 degrees Celsius.

Uganda's location along the Equator gives it a tropical climate characterized by two seasons of wet and hot. Wet/rainy seasons fall in the months of March to May and September to November; while the dry seasons stretch from December to February, and June to August (UBoS, 2007). These seasons furnish the country with fertile soils, a

variety of minerals, fresh water, plus unique species of flora and fauna. These characteristics are what led Churchill (1908) to refer to Uganda as “the Pearl of Africa”.

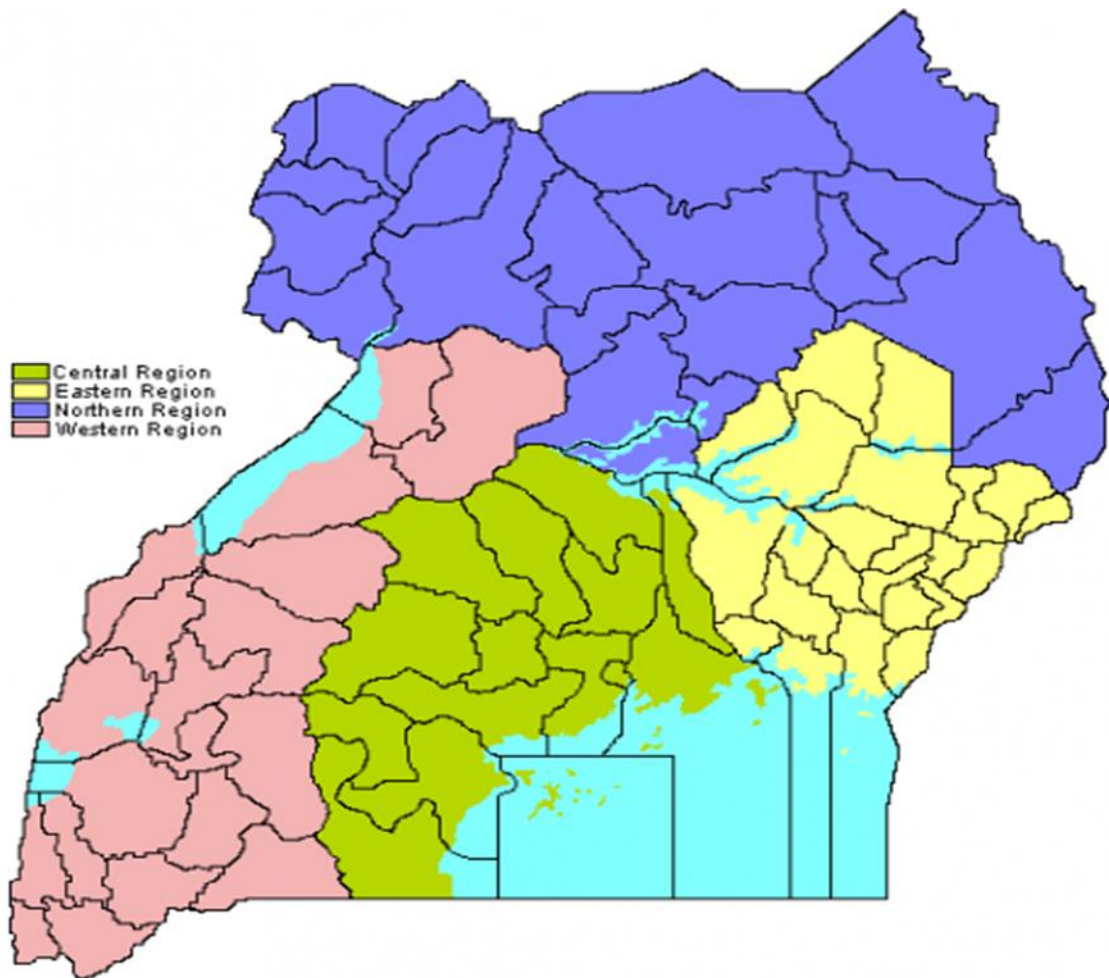


Figure 2. Map of Uganda showing the Geographical regions

Note. Adapted from Local Governments, Ministry of Local Government at <https://molg.go.ug/local-governments/> on 12/06/2015.

Uganda is a multilingual country with many ethnic groups spread throughout the four regions; namely the Northern, Eastern, Western and Central. Politically, the country is demarcated into districts, with districts sub-divided into counties, counties to sub-counties, and then to parishes and villages consecutively. The villages form the smallest political unit. In the 2002 Census, Uganda had 56 Districts (UBoS, 2007) while currently in 2015, the 2014 Census recorded Uganda divided into over 111 districts and the Kampala capital

city (UBoS, 2014). Figure 3 below illustrates the map of Uganda divided into the 111 districts and a city

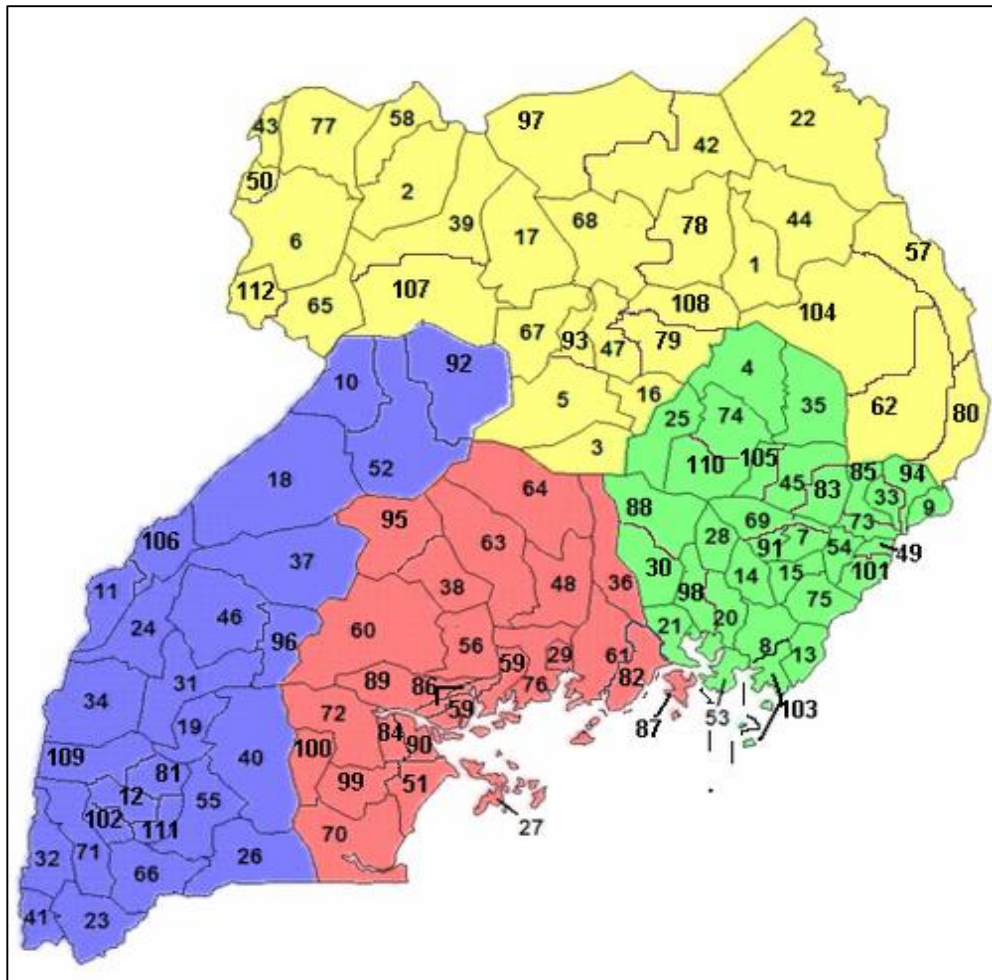


Figure 3. Map of Uganda showing 111 Districts in the 4 regions

Note. Adapted from Local Governments, Ministry of Local Government at <https://molg.go.ug/local-governments/> on 12/06/2015.

Uganda is a republic after attaining its independence from the British in 1962, and is governed by a Constitution declared in 1995 with the President as chief of the executive, alongside the judiciary and the legislature. Uganda, however, remains part of the British Commonwealth with a current population estimate of about 37.78 million people according to 2014 Census (UBoS, 2014).

The current official languages are English and Kiswahili, although English is predominantly used in the formal work and school environment (Nsibambi, 2014). Kiswahili is still a language used by security forces and in some instances, by business men and women especially those transcending across the country borders. Rural areas predominantly use NDLs, save for a few officials in the formal sector, such as district officials who use English in their day to day district functions.

Uganda's formal education is mostly attributed to the Christian missionaries who started to influence it from the 1880s (Kwesiga, 1994; Pennycook, 2005). The education system has evolved over time and following independence in 1962, with the implementation of the 1963 Castle Report in 1965 and later the Kajubi report of 1987 that translated into the Government white paper on education in 1992 (GoU, 1992; Kwesiga, 1994; Ssekamwa, 1999; Ssekamwa & Lugumba, 2001). In education, English has predominantly remained both as a learning subject and as a medium through which knowledge is accessed by children both in urban and rural areas in primary, secondary school and institutions of higher learning.

Overview of the Education System in Uganda

The Ugandan education system bears some resemblance to that of the British education system because it has its roots in the British education system introduced by the missionaries (Kwesiga, 1994; Muzoora & Terry, 2013a; Muzoora & Terry, 2015; Ssekamwa, 1999; Ssekamwa & Lugumba, 2001). After independence however, the government was determined to provide an education that would support the Ugandan population to run the political, social and economic structures that had been left behind by the colonial government (Kwesiga, 1994; Ssekamwa, 1999; Ssekamwa & Lugumba, 2001).

The government embarked on building schools, training more teachers, increasing enrolments and access to education.

Structure of the Education System in Uganda

The system of education consists of four levels, with each level concluded by the successful completion of an examination. This national process allows students to move to the next levels based on how well they have performed in the final exam. Many students unable to pass to the next level are more often rejected by the system and drop out of education.

The majority of children in urban areas and a few in rural areas commence their education at the pre-primary level (Kindergarten). This level of education is run by private individuals, groups or organizations but regulated by the government through the Ministry of Education. The first level is primary school which runs for 7 years (6-12 years of age). Primary education is now free for all Ugandan children. Though there are some costs involved, like buying uniforms, providing lunch and scholastic materials, and girls' sanitary provisions that some rural parents are unable to meet and as a result some children drop out of school. At this level, students have to pass a primary leaving exam (PLE) for entry to the next level.

The second level is secondary school, which includes four years of Ordinary level (13-16 years of age) and two years of Advanced level (A level). The government is aiming to extend universal secondary education to the Ordinary level (O level). At the end of O level, a Uganda Certificate of Education exam (UCE) has to be sat and passed by students before proceeding to A level.

The third level is tertiary, including University education with duration of 2 to 5 years depending on the course or programme the student has opted to pursue. Entry to this

level is, in most cases, through passing an Advanced Level examination (UACE), mature age entry or through a diploma qualification acquired in a recognised tertiary institution, such as a Diploma of Education from national teaching colleges, or a Diploma of Business Studies and Commerce from business colleges, and polytechnics.

The first two levels of Primary level and Secondary level (Ordinary and Advanced level) and some tertiary level institutions sit examinations conducted by a national body, the Uganda National Examination Board (UNEB). Other tertiary and University organisations administer their own examinations supervised and regulated by the Council for Higher Education and the Ministry of Education. In summary, Uganda's education system is a 7-4-2-3 system recommended by the Castle Commission in 1963 (GoU, 1992) as illustrated in table 2 below:

Table 2. Structure of Uganda's Education System

| Education Level | Cycle | Award | Progress Opportunities |
|--|-----------|--|--|
| Pre-Primary-Not Mandatory | 2 years | - | Primary Education |
| Primary Education | 7 years | Primary leaving Examination(PLE) | Lower Secondary Technical school |
| Lower Secondary School(Ordinary level) | 4 years | Uganda Certificate of Education (UCE) | Upper Secondary Primary Teacher College Technical Institute Other Dept. Training Institutes |
| Technical school | 2 years | Certificate | Technical Institution |
| Uppers Secondary (Advanced level) | 2 years | Advanced Level Certificate of Education (UACE) | University Uganda Tech. Colleges National Tr. Colleges College of Commerce Other Dept. Training Institutes |
| Primary Teacher College | 2 years | Certificate | National Tr. Training College |
| Technical Institute | 2 years | Certificate | Uganda Technical College |
| Uganda College of Commerce | 2/3 years | Diploma | University |
| National Teacher College | 2 years | Diploma | University |
| Uganda Technical College | 2 years | Diploma | University |
| University | 2/5 years | Diploma/ Degree | Post-Graduate studies |

Note. Adapted from Uganda Government (1992)

This section looked at an overview of the education system of Uganda. The next section considers the historical development of education and language in Uganda.

Education and Language Development in Uganda

This section will explore the historical context to inform the background to language policy development and implementation in Uganda. Kallaway (2005) emphasised that to critically understand issues of policy and implementation in education, especially in African countries, it is necessary to consider the historical specificity of policy development. Alexander (2001) suggested that to understand anything about education issues elsewhere, such understanding is powerfully informed by history. Kallaway (2005) argued that failure to recognise such a gap could possibly explain in part the weaknesses of documents and policies regarding questions of language-in-education implementation.

Almost half a century after independence, the language situation in schools in Uganda, remains problematic and complex. Uganda still maintains the language of her former colonizers as both national and language of education while at the same time relegating the NDLs to the point of almost leaving no place for them in the national and educational arena. Initiatives to unlock these complexities in both policy and practice have not found it easy to break through due to a number of reasons that provide a basis for this study. An understanding of the historical developments is important to illuminate the language situation in Uganda.

To be able to grasp the trends in language policy and implementation development in education, it is necessary to take a closer look at the situation of Ugandan local languages. This section describes Ugandan local languages following their language family origins and subsequently diffusing into dialects over time and space to what, in the present day, has come to be recognised as languages of Uganda. In attempting to answer

how many languages there are in Uganda it is of necessity to identify and define what a language is and to establish the relationship between a language and a dialect.

The term language, according to Ndoleriire (2004) is particularly concerned with human language, and for the purpose of this study, it will mean solely human language. In addition, the distinction between language and dialect is seen from a linguistic point of view emphasising intelligibility. Kosonen (2004) stated that only when people speak different speech varieties and understand each other sufficiently and can communicate without difficulties, would such people be considered to speak dialects of the same language. If the intelligibility between speakers of different speech varieties is insufficient however, then they speak different languages. As such, the distinction between language and dialect from the linguistic point of view is in conceptual understanding. If people speak different speech varieties, understand each other well and communicate without difficulty, then they speak dialects of the same language. An example is the Banyankole, Bahaya, Bakiga, Batoro, Banyoro and Batagwenda dialects harmonised into one area language called Runyakitara (Bernsten, 1998).

In the Ugandan context, to effectively understand the language distribution it is important to first trace the origins of these languages. African languages were literally torn apart through long distance inter and intra-country migrations for several reasons like civil strife, famine, disease, search for fertile areas for grazing land and so forth (Benjamin, 2010). There was also a missionary factor that impacted greatly on the language situation in Uganda and some other African countries. This is explained in the proceeding section of this chapter. The partitioning of Africa at the Berlin conference of 1884 in Germany that draw artificial boundaries across African socio-linguistic communities also further fragmented and marginalized the non-dominant languages (Ladefoged, Glick, & Criper,

1972; Pawliková-Vilhanová, 1996; Pennycook, 2005; Prah, 2003; Ssekamwa & Lugumba, 2001).

The 1884 Berlin conference created artificial boundaries drawn arbitrarily with little regard to the historical, cultural and linguistic considerations of Africans (Rukuuka, 2005). Hence people who spoke similar languages were divided across borders. The indirect rule system exercised by the British colonial administration emphasised English in schools while marginalising the local languages. Where local languages were used it was only in favour of some ethnic groups, consequently prompting the subjugated to prefer the languages of the favoured Ethnic groups (Rukuuka, 2005).

Missionaries also affected or had an influence on the African languages (Bernsten, 1998; Kwesiga, 1994; Ladefoged et al., 1972; Pennycook, 2005; Prah, 2003). They played an influential part in promoting African languages such as providing a firm foundation in areas of translations, terminology development, written literature in African languages and mother tongue education. Hence missionaries' impact on the non-dominant languages in places they operated made it much easier and relatively cheaper later in their further development in such areas compared to areas that such impact was absent (Heugh, 2005). Accordingly Pennycook (2005) asserts that "Christianity has become indelibly bound up with linguistics, modernity and literacy... linking the grammars and dictionaries they produced to cultivating African morality" (p. 138). In so doing, however, missionaries used English as template for the African languages (Brock-Utne, 2000; Pennycook, 2005). Hence a tendency developed for African speakers to experience their languages in an alien format (Pennycook, 2005). This experience according to Pennycook (2005) explains why there continues to be a tendency to produce knowledge for external communities rather than their own. This approach taken by the missionaries at the time was in part due to fact that the non-dominant languages lacked written form. Accordingly, Brock-Utne (2000)

asserted that it is partly for this reason that work done by the missionaries on the non-dominant languages also led to language fragmentation:

The absence of written forms for many African languages, at least one which the missionaries could access... provided the opportunities for European missionaries to construct African languages according to their own specifications... (Brock-Utne, 2000, p. 143)

This fragmentation in the pursuit of translating the Bible to local languages led to some tensions later among the users (Bernsten, 1998; Pennycook, 2005; Prah, 2012; Zehlia, 2015; Zeleza, 2006). Evidence in the documents produced amongst missionary sects from different countries, showed that in some instances they created two or more orthographies of the same language dialect. A case in point is Luganda, an East Lacustrine Bantu dialect in Uganda, from which missionaries created two orthographies of the same language, one by Protestant missionaries from Britain and another by Catholic missionaries from France (Mulira, 1951; Ssekamwa, 1999; Twaddle, 2011).

This missionary influence in linguistic divisions, according to Prah (2003) continues today with SIL International-formally called the Summer Institute of Linguistics- through Bible translations. In Uganda this influence is particularly observed in relation to Luo (Acoli) and other languages in remote parts of the country by emphasising on including special diacritics or increasing the number of vowels in order to provide Bible translations to such ethnic groups' dialects which have exacerbated further differences and fragmentation of non-dominant languages. This has made it more difficult for the non-dominant languages to be used in the classrooms and the lack of resources to provide for the dialects for use in the classroom.

Critics of the SIL approach to non-dominant languages, like the Centre for Advanced studies of African Society (CASAS), advance harmonisation of non-dominant

languages as an alternative approach. There have been steps by CASAS and the Makerere Institute of Languages, however, to resource non-dominant languages more effectively through harmonisation. For example, in Uganda various orthographies of languages have been harmonised. Western Lucastrine Bantu languages (Rutoro, Rwamba, Runyoro, Rukiga, Runyankole, Ruhaaya, Runyambo, Rukerewe, Ruhema and Ruhuma) have been harmonised into Runyakitara (Bernsten, 1998; Prah, 2003; Prah, 2011). The Eastern Lacustrine Bantu languages and Luo languages have followed suit (Prah, 2011). This situation means that harmonised languages should be able to be used in schools in an economically cost effective and sustainable way without necessarily impacting negatively on the mother tongues. Accordingly, Zehlia (2015) argued that harmonisation does not impact negatively on the individual mother tongues of different speakers but rather adds a “written standard for literacy” acquired in school to the learners’ mother tongues (p. 7), hence disarming the myth that the harmonisation process leads to various mother tongues being usurped by area languages with a consequent loss of these languages and identities.

Ladefoged et al. (1972) specified that there are two distinct groups of languages in Uganda, the Bantu and the Nilo-Saharan languages. Zehlia (2015) categorised these as Niger-Saharan (Niger-Congo) and Nilo-Saharan language families. In addition the Nilo-Saharan languages are believed to have given rise to three separate groups of languages:

- The extreme north western languages (Sudanic languages);
- The western-Nilotic languages; and
- The Eastern-Nilotic languages.

The last two are presumed by linguist experts, according to Ladefoged et al. (1972), to have fore-runners which were similar dialects but diverged a long time ago into a group generally called the Nilotic languages. Ladefoged et al. (1972) argued further that it is also believed by linguists that the Sudanic and Nilotic languages were related in some way

springing from one family, the Nilo-Saharan languages. Hence there is general agreement that Ugandan languages arose from two language family groups (Bantu and Nilo-Sudanic). Bantu languages form the largest group with about two-thirds of the population using languages from two groups, the Western and Eastern groups (Pawliková-Vilhanová, 1996). Hence the approach taken by groups advocating harmonisation is in accord with the historical structure of the language groups. The map of Uganda in figure 4 below shows the distribution of the language families throughout Uganda and the 36 NDLs recognised officially for school purpose by National Curriculum Centre (NCDC).

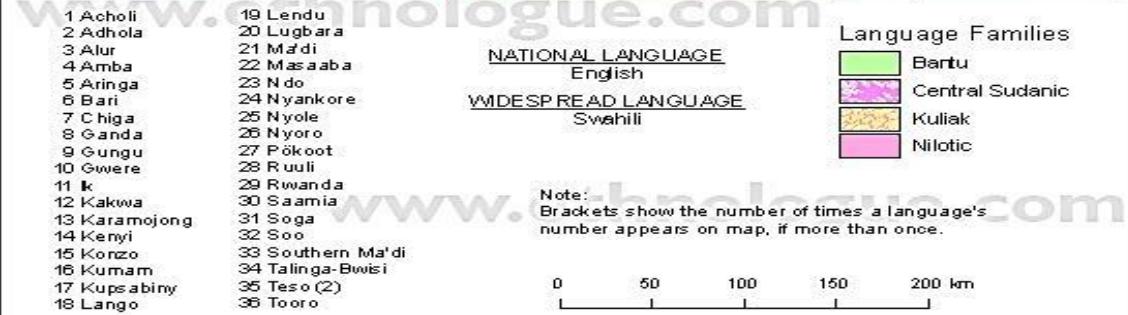


Figure 4. Map showing languages and language families of Uganda (Lewis, 2009)

The findings of the survey by Ladefoged et al. (1972) identified approximately 63 languages. The most recent data available from the National Curriculum Development Centre and Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) identified Uganda as a multilingual society with 36 indigenous languages (Nsibambi, 2014). It is against this background that the government has officially come to recognise 36 indigenous languages for education purpose in the figure 4 above.

The next section explores education and language-in-education development in three historical phases of pre-colonial era, colonial and post-colonial era.

Pre-Colonial Education and Language

Between about 500 and 1,500A.D, a variety of people migrated into present day Uganda, and among these were the Bantu (Nzita & Mbaga, 1997). Bantu speaking peoples migrated to the inter-lacustrine region, now the great lakes region of East Africa. By the 14th Century people were organised and living in communities, arranged under tribes, chiefdoms, clans and family lineages. By the 18th Century, some states had emerged with centralised political and socio-economic organisations and standing armies, while other groups were egalitarian/ or stateless in nature (Rukuuka, 2005). Three major kingdoms emerged, notably Buganda, Bunyoro and Ankole, a factor that influenced the flow of events and policies then and thereafter.

It should be observed that these ethnic groups had their unique education systems that were informal and differed from society to society depending on the environment, way of life, resources available, relations with other societies, and historical background among others, within a language system. There were no formal classrooms, no regulated syllabi, but the type of education was relevant to the societal needs and in the interests of the society and locals that accessed it. The education was defined by the distinctive groups. Values, knowledge and skills were transmitted by work and trained by example. Brock-Utne (1999, p.89) summarised it as:

An education [that] was a system of linkages; [with a] Linkage between general knowledge and practical life; Education was linked to production; Education was linked to social life; Education was linked to culture through use of the mother tongue; Education was linked to culture through the incorporation of cultural practices like games, dancing, music and sports.

The major problem with this type of education was that it was oral (not written) hence unwritten accounts transmitted orally were not documented and most of this knowledge has been lost, dying away with the generations that possessed it. According to Anderson (2011), the passing on of such elders has taken with them such unwritten vital accounts as well as the thoughts and experiences of an entire culture. Traditional education centred on life, treasured and stimulated feelings, creativity and the heart (values/morals laden) but most of all it was functional, and relevant to the individual and society (Brock-Utne, 1999). It was education that carried in itself what Heugh (2011), identified as the societal project. Bassey (1999) argued that African education was “not just learning for the sake of learning, it was a deliberate effort to perpetuate and reinforce social solidarity and homogeneity” (p.22).

The African traditional education system can be summarised in the words of Canaan Banana of Zimbabwe cited in Bassey (1999) as an Education that was an integral part of the entire social, economic and cultural system. “It was related to the individual, the human group and the environment. Each part was essential to the coherent operation and sustenance of the whole system” (Bassey, 1999, p.24). Above all the education was passed through a familiar language medium to the learner by the educator.

Education and languages in the colonial era

A formal system of education in Uganda was first introduced by Arabs and Swahili traders, but in particular Sheikh Ahmed bin Ibrahim in 1844 (Nzita & Mbagi, 1997; Ssekamwa, 1999). Ssekamwa affirmed that these traders came with the Islamic religion which had an education based on the Koran. This type of education however was not intentionally driven since the Arabs and Swahili were mostly involved in commercial activities, in the slave and ivory trades. The locals that became interested were introduced

to Koranic education in schools located at the mosques with their reading and writing based on the Arabic script. Teachers that were eventually trained from these schools converted to Islam based on the language of instruction in Kiswahili, a language that was used in the inter-territorial trade in the region. (Nzita & Mbaga, 1997). By 1876, Islam had taken a firm root in Buganda.

By the 1850s, Europeans had also begun penetrating the interior as explorers, ethnologists, geographers and missionaries to find out about the 'unknown'. It is worth noting that this period in Europe was that of enlightenment and modernity. This period, according to Smith (1999), provided impetus, spirit, political and economic structures that facilitated a search for new knowledge. The evangelical revival movements in Europe during the 18th Century were part of this enlightenment.

Missionaries arrived in the Buganda kingdom on the invitation of then king, Muteesa I in 1877 (Rukuuka, 2005). King Muteesa I requested the British government to send teachers to come and pass on knowledge to his people, a request that was published in the Daily Telegraph in London (Ssekamwa, 1999). This period was also characterised by conflict and rivalry within and among states as well as aggression from beyond these states. Aggression occurred from neighbours like Bunyoro, from the north by Egypt under Khedive Ismail who wanted to colonize Uganda, as well as the spill outs of the Mfecane upward from Southern and Central Africa. The King's priorities were therefore on building alliances with a strong force, in this case Britain, for support as well as acquiring arms for the quelling of hostilities that threatened the stability and strength of the kingdom (Rukuuka, 2005).

Period of Missionary Dominance. The period between 1877-1920 saw gradual development of formal education dominated by Christian missionaries as a result of

responding to the king's call. The first missionaries to arrive were from the Church Missionaries Society of England in 1877. These were Protestants under Shergold Smith and C.T. Wilson. Two years later in 1879 French Catholic missionaries (White Fathers under Father Lourdel and Brother Amans) arrived (Nzita, & Mbaga, 1997; Ssekamwa, 1999). These were followed by the Mill Hill Fathers in 1896 and 1910 and by the Verna Fathers from France and Italy respectively (Ssekamwa, 1999). According to Bassey (1999), Buxton, a member of the Church missionaries society and prominent member of the British Parliament, in preparation for this endeavour urged the cooperation of government and the missionary societies in the deliverance of Africa when he stated:

Let missionaries and school masters, the plough and the spade, go together and agriculture will flourish; the avenues and legitimate commerce will be opened; confidence between man and man will be inspired; whilst civilization will advance as the natural effect; and Christianity operate as the proximate cause, of this happy change. (Bassey, 1999, p. 28)

During this period however, there was an absence of a long-term clear policy in education from the colonial government as evidenced in the apparently fractured and indecisive nature of the way that missionaries ran this formal education (Kallaway, 2005). According to Whitehead (1981), reasons for this occurrence could have been due to chronic shortage of funds and personnel that forced the missionaries to adopt measures in which convenience, rather than principle was the guiding motive.

The missionaries introduced literate education as part of an evangelical mission to make converts literate so that they would be able to read the Bible and other religious books provided by the mission at home and in the community. It should be noted that though the missionaries instituted a literate model (English) they also, on a rather small scale, provided manual work, which was obligatory in the mission schools. They also taught carpentry, building and printing (Ssekamwa & Lugumba, 2001). The missionaries

did not however have sufficient funds to run these activities well and on a larger scale because they depended on the annual grants by their home governments that were meagre. Hence, a small portion of the population therefore only accessed the missionary project, and it is at this point that the creation of a different social class emerged that was non-existent in the traditional society. Access to education was literally at the time wholly in the interest of the missions, for example, through creation of cheap labour in form of porters, domestic servants, translators, samba attendants, clerks and most importantly fostering evangelism to the African people (Rukuuka, 2005).

It is worth noting that the different denominations from different countries had disconnected interests though united by the evangelism factor. These missions stood out competitive and conflicting, especially in Buganda (Rukuuka, 2005). This conflict was exhibited in the use of different curricula with each based on its home country. In Buganda, Mulira (1951) recognised that all of the four missions had different orthographies of the Luganda language and yet none were perfect due to limited competency in the language, a factor which also reduced the ethnic area languages to tribal dialects. He affirmed that: “The difference was mainly about long consonantal sounds and about the divisions of words, where Church Missionaries Society used a diacritic to represent a long consonantal sound, the Roman Catholics missionaries used double consonants and so on...” (Mulira, 1951, p. 4). This confusion was also among the African converts and consequently led to outright Mission confrontations on the Buganda soil, including a conflict in 1888 between the missions and Muslims on one side against the Buganda Kingdom (Rukuuka, 2005). This confrontation led to the overthrow of the King. Distrust among the Muslims and Christians however created further tensions that culminated in the exclusion of the Muslims from political matters by the missionaries. Finally, the Christians fought amongst themselves with Protestants overwhelming the Catholics. In 1892 the dominance of the

Protestant group was supported by Captain Lugard who was sent by the imperial British East African Company to restore order by ending the civil disturbances created by the above factions (Rukuuka, 2005). This position allowed the Protestants to take a leading role in influencing Ugandan politics and educational policy.

These were the power struggles which were fought on religious foundations and which culminated into wars that stretched between 1887-1892 among the Catholics and Protestants (the Wafaransa Wangereza-“French-English” Wars). These conflicts were so entrenched in the socio-economic and political terrain in Uganda that the 1980 political parties of the presidential elections fell into these two groups, with major UPC and DP belonging to the Protestants and Catholics respectively (Rukuuka, 2005). The political, economic and social structures of the original language groups had been usurped, and were now in the hands of the missionaries. Education was no longer a societal project as denoted by Bassey (1999), but was transformed into a missionary project; hence, a major transformation in the political, social and economic structures of these societies. Reminiscing and reaffirming the words of Odora (1994) in the opening section of chapter 1 of this research.

Ssekamwa and Lugumba (2001) indicated that by 1901, missionaries had advanced from mere literate elementary education provision, to the provision of education for a wider world. They built schools where students resided and used English as a medium of instruction, which was based on a European curriculum with syllabuses and exams, and content that heavily relied on European civilisation and knowledge. These missionary schools helped in identifying talent, with those identified being groomed for more advanced education in boarding school or abroad. Among the first schools of this nature were Namilyango by the Mill Hill Fathers in 1902, Gayaza high school in 1905, Mengo high school in 1903, Kings College Buddo in 1906, Kisubi, Kamuli, Mbarara high school

and Bukalasa (Ssekamwa & Lugumba, 2001, p. 2). This institution of boarding school played a critical role in assimilating the students in a systematic denial of indigenous languages, knowledge and cultures (Smith, 1999).

Colonial education was a mechanism that created new indigenous elite, especially since those who accessed this education were mostly sons and daughters of influential families. Another category that also formed part of the elite was the converts to the colonial ideology. These settings were to provide new tastes and attitudes creating a different social and cultural space since they began to align their cultural and economic interests with those of the colonising group rather than their own society (Bourdieu, 1996; Smith, 1999).

While English was becoming strongly entrenched in the Christian schools, Kiswahili also kept being used in the Koranic schools. In fact, Kiswahili was given further impetus in 1903, when Governor Sadler made the learning of Kiswahili obligatory for all senior colonial officers. By 1919 the provincial commissioners advocated for its use as an official native language and to be taught as a subject by missionaries in schools (Ssekamwa, 1999). Due to the fact that Kiswahili had gained ground in then Tanganyika and Kenya, there was need for a larger language of communication among protectorate officials. In Uganda however, (which was known as Buganda at the time), the language of the area, Luganda had also gained influence due to Buganda's strength and the diplomatic contact with the Europeans. Buganda took on a more diplomatic approach to dealing with the colonisers. While some other communities resisted colonialism, Buganda collaborated and as such were favoured by their coloniser Britain.

The next subsection looks at the period between 1920-1960 with missionaries slowly and gradually losing dominance in directing and influencing educational and, language policy as well as practice.

Declining Missionary Dominance. By 1924, missionaries operated maternity schools for midwives, subgrades, central schools which provided rudimentary education, high schools, and normal schools for training teachers as well as colleges. English had yielded influence as a language of power and social status and had developed a form of class and a basis for social mobility while the local languages were perceived as holding back Africans from development and knowledge and keeping them out of the wider world (Ssekamwa & Lugumba, 2001). Missionary schooling provided access for many local people to break through to the upper ranks on merit, altering the status quo, although education was only accessed by a very small fraction of the population.

After 1921, the British colonial government took a leading role in the administration of education in its colonies. From this period, the native education policy was to become a major issue in the varying interests of the colonial state, missionaries, and international organisations, and Africans themselves. This interest was driven by the fact that the missions were no longer able to cope with the increasing demand for schooling but more so, by the mandates received after World War I under the doctrine of effective occupation. Whitehead (1981) indicated that during this period when the British empire was at its peak, interests lay not in whether to have an empire or not but rather how best to govern it. The principle of trust-ship coined by Captain Lugard in his book the Dual Mandate (1922) became the framework or guiding principle for the native education policy as part of the effective occupation of the East African protectorate. This framework increased state involvement in the formulation of an education policy that led to the establishment of the 1923 advisory committee (Kallaway, 2005; Whitehead, 1981).

Captain Lugard being part of the 1923 advisory committee and a representative of colonial state interests advocated for adaptation as the most viable education for tropical

Africa since he perceived it as having a significant role to play in indirect rule. Adaptation entailed the appropriation of tribal institutions that promoted the interests of the colonisers. Indirect rule was paramount and part of this was provision of native education that was limited to serving the interests of the coloniser but not so much to raise critical thought for a possible discontent (Kallaway, 2005). Captain Lugard's view was eminently political, for social control, since he felt that such an approach would be less productive of causes of legitimate discontent compared to what had been experienced in India due to the literate model of education that had steered emancipation of thought (Kallaway, 2005). The outcomes of the 1923 advisory committee culminated into a commission of experts on education and native affairs which was sent to tour East Africa in 1924.

The Phelps-Stokes Commission in 1924 included representatives of the colonial office and mission societies, and was financed by the Phelps Stokes fund which recommended the government urgently to take a major role and establish a Department of Education. The commission also criticised the literary education model used by missionaries but took no mention on the language issue (Kallaway, 2005; Whitehead, 1981). Soon after its publication Governor Sir Geoffrey Archer set up a Department of Education in the East African Protectorate and Mr Eric J Hussey took on the office of Director of Education in February 1925 (Ssekamwa & Lugumba, 2001). This marked the starting point of government involvement in education affairs. Hussey introduced the first educational bill in 1927. The Director of Education introduced the first educational bill entitled 'The 1927 education ordinance'. The provisions of this ordinance were to provide for development and regulation of education (Ssekamwa & Lugumba, 2001). Much as the ordinance gave a lot of power over the school system to the government, the ownership and management of the schools remained in the hands of mission groups. The Education department also following the Phelps-Stokes commission's recommendations tailored the

education provided to the needs of the pupils and the community, whether in mission schools or government schools and also made the language issue the subject of a memorandum in the same year- 1927 (Ladefoged et al., 1972). This memorandum came in place, because of the existing perplexing language situation (English, Luganda, and Kiswahili-discussed later in the chapter). This was the first memorandum on language and it recommended that NDLs be the medium of instruction for primary schools with English introduced as a subject after the third year. According to Ladefoged et al. (1972), English as a subject was to be introduced about three or four years after children had attained a fair degree of literacy in the non-dominant languages. The memorandum did not however outline in specific terms the NDLs to be used.

The language issue had however increasingly begun to gain considerable debate both at the protectorate level and in the wider perspective of education policy before 1927. In Uganda for example, in November 1925 in one of the vernacular government bulletin called MUNNO (the then government Newspaper at the time in the Luganda language) the newly founded education department announced with immediate effect that NDLs of the protectorate should be included in the curriculum (Mulira, 1951). Until this time NDLs had never been studied in the formal system of education (Mulira, 1951). In 1926, the most influential Protestant missionaries from missions working in Africa held a conference in Belgium on the role of missions in Africa. This conference made a major shift in British colonial education in Africa, increasing on localising the curriculum, embracing the principle of NDLs in education and increased collaboration between government and missions (Kallaway, 2005). This Conference of Protestant missions in Africa endorsed the subsequent recommendations of the 1923 Advisory Committee and the Phelps-Stoke Commission making a major landmark in education provision in the protectorate and language-in-education the following year, 1927.

The broader issue of language also became contentious in the same year with the Governor, Sir W.F. Growers' suggesting Kiswahili as the best answer for medium of instruction and as a language most appropriate for uniting the various ethnic groups in the protectorate. Kiswahili was at the time used and understood by officers in the territory under Germany and British influence, and the most widely used language in the region. With the governor's success with Kiswahili on officers in the Protectorate from 1903, its success seemed inevitable too and most viable within the school system. Growers saw this in itself as advantageous in the sense that no ethnic tribe claimed it and hence it was a language that could best suit as both a national language, language of instruction in the school and be a unifier. The recommendations advanced by Growers included:

- In Bantu areas, Kiswahili was to be used in all elementary, normal schools and in technical schools.
- The government would withhold grants in aid to all schools that did not comply with the Kiswahili policy.
- The government promised to pay teachers of Kiswahili
- Colonial officers who mastered Kiswahili would be paid a bonus.
- In Bantu areas Kiswahili was to be introduced at higher levels of education (Ssekamwa & Lugumba, 2001).

Hussey, the Director of the Education also proposed Kiswahili as an inter-territorial medium of communication with a wide Kiswahili language zone making the production of reading materials affordable (Ssekamwa & Lugumba, 2001).

Kiswahili was however not a historic Ugandan language, secondly Luganda was incredibly strong but also enjoyed the favour of the British colonial government. More important however, the missions were not ready to support Kiswahili in their schools which they so much attached to Islam and the Quran. Growers' move to promote Kiswahili

was seen as radical in the sense that it used rewards and punishments and yet also lacked popular support. The missions were opposed to this development, and among them, Mr Rowlings of the Church Missionaries Society of Namirembe feared that this strategy would only intensify Muslim influence. In a memorandum to the Secretary of State from four bishops belonging to the educational mission in Uganda asking him to withdraw the policy, they wrote: “we are quite prepared to cooperate in the teaching of Kiswahili as a subject in upper classes of elementary schools..., but, we are not prepared to go further and use it as a medium of instruction” (Kasozi, 2000, p. 27). The dominant tribe, the Baganda, felt Luganda very much threatened by the Grower’s move for Kiswahili and the impending loss of land to white settlers as a result of the closer union of East Africa seen from their counterparts in Kenya (Kasozi, 2000). Uganda also considered that English was a path to modern science, technology and information. Ssekamwa (1999) confirmed this attitude among the Ugandans when he revealed that:

In 1933 at the height of the closer union of East Africa, a number of leaders of opinion in Uganda were invited to London to give their views about the closer union of East Africa and indeed also on the [Ki]Swahili issue in Uganda, Among those invited to London was Serwano Wookulira Kulubya, the then treasurer of Buganda/Omuwanika. During Kulubya’s interview, he was asked as to what language should be adopted in Uganda, “English of course, my lord, which is the source of all knowledge as it is”, he said. (p.44)

Kiswahili was resisted and eventually according to the ruling of the department of education it was to be taught as a second language in Teso, Lango, Acholi and West Nile and elsewhere as a subject, if desired (Ssekamwa & Lugumba, 2001). The Dela Warr Commission on higher education in 1937 recommended that the teaching of English at all levels be a subject of inquiry both locally and by the colonial government. They also recommended the production of suitable textbooks in both English and non-dominant

languages be intensified (Ladefoged et al., 1972). Emphasis on English at higher levels of education was a strategic way of entrenching it in the system with the aim of not only using it as a language of instruction but having it as a national language of Uganda in the future. The Commission did maintain a vaguely defined policy of 1927 of maintaining instruction in NDLs but it did not specify the languages to be used. Hence there was a need for a clear policy on this to be able to provide funds for the development of teaching materials.

The period between 1929 and 1940s saw unprecedented conflict and friction between and among the government and missions, government on one side against missions and African interests on the other, and Africans against government and missions as well on language and education. For example in 1938, there existed three types of schools;

- Primary school for six years with English as the medium of instruction;
- Junior secondary school offering a three year course; and
- Senior secondary offering a three year course qualifying for Makerere College after a final exam.

The NDLs were also incentivised by government, for example by 1940 the standard of entry for teachers of the NDLs had been raised throughout the country. Students joining colleges for a teaching certificate for a three year course were required to have obtained a primary leaving certificate after P6 (Ssekamwa, 1999; Ssekamwa & Lugumba, 2001). These certificates were the qualifications needed by NDL teachers to teach P1-P4. It should also be noted that instruction was in English throughout the primary course so slowly but surely teachers became discouraged over time because they were distanced from the NDLs that they would later be expected to teach in the classroom. In a sense this

approach in policy to language in education disadvantaged the local languages while seemingly working in support of English.

The solution to clear up the NDLs as MoI dilemma that had begun in 1927 was arrived at finally in 1944. Ladefoged et al. (1972) stated that the 1944 Makerere conference on language was convened by the Director of Education to consider which African languages should be used as languages of instruction in school. This also provided clarification of the 1927 policy on language that had been vaguely stated. It was recommended that five area languages be used which included: Luganda, Acholi, Runyoro, Ateso and Lugbara. The conference also acknowledged English as an inevitable lingua franca for the future. Finally it was also recommended that English be used as a language of instruction from seventh year onwards while introducing it as a subject to the third or fourth year in primary school. Kiswahili was to remain taught as a subject in school.

The Colonial Office memorandum on language in 1947 made further clarification on specific languages to use, when and for what purpose. The recommendations made following the Colonial Office memorandum on language in African school education were that the main area languages should be the only medium of instruction throughout primary one to primary four on the condition that local language use was sufficiently developed and widespread to justify the provision of the necessary textbooks (Ladefoged, Glick, & Criper, 1972). The essence was that the use of the NDLs at this level would ease learning for learners in familiar languages of instruction as well as providing a firm foundation for learning in the second language (English). The non-dominant languages spoken in smaller areas were only to be used as the language of instruction in the first class (P1), when children started school in these areas. After which one of the main area languages would be adopted. Considering that most children were dropping out of school after P4, there was considerable doubt about introducing English as a subject below P5. The memorandum

reaffirmed the recommendations of the Makerere Conference in 1944 to intensify the teaching of English in the seventh year so as to make its use possible as an effective medium of instruction from the end of that class onwards (Ladefoged et al., 1972).

Although the recommendations of the Colonial Office memorandum on language in 1947 seemed pedagogically appropriate for supporting literacy development, the Advisory Council for African education in the following year redefined the language policy in schools. The Council intensified the use of English by redefining some aspects in 1947, by stating that;

- English could be taught as a subject in P5 and above.
- English should not be used as a language of instruction in primary school except in exceptional cases, and
- No restriction to be imposed on teaching of English before P5 provided it had no negative consequences on general education (Ladefoged et al., 1972).

By 1952, the Nuffield study group had relegated Kiswahili in Uganda schools, since it stood in the way of English (Pawliková-Vilhanová, 1996). Added to this situation was the rise in private schools run by African teachers who had been taught by missionaries. These teachers were actively instructing in English right from Primary 1, which attracted many parents with the belief that many advantages could accrue from using English, especially as a means for social mobility. The proprietors of private schools were convinced that by students being taught in NDLS they were denied a level ground for competing directly for resources in the colonial state and economy.

Amidst all these achievements however, was mounting pressure by the surrounding countries to get independence. This led the British home government to start considering ways through which political as well as economic structures could be passed on to the citizens of the colonies to run their own affairs. As a result, there was an increase in

educational facilities to suit larger populations in school with the aim of filling gaps of jobs in government and private offices. This trend of events led to the De-Bunsen report of 1952 (Pawliková-Vilhanová, 1996). The London Colonial Office, in its pursuit for paving way for future independence, appointed a commission in 1951 to visit East and Central Africa, examine the state of education and recommend new developments. This commission was called the Binns Study Group. The recommendations of this report were to be implemented by the De-Bunsen Commission which was set up by Governor Sir Andrew Cohen to ensure:

- That English should be taught as a subject from class two as staff and material became available;
- The continued use of the five local languages that had been accepted by the education report of 1952; and
- The need to train teachers to teach English and for a detailed study of content and methods of English teaching in schools and training colleges.

This move towards independence brought new strategies and new changes especially stepping up the quality of education. A new education system was recommended and implemented to include, six years of primary education, two years of junior secondary, three years of ordinary level secondary, and advanced level as a feature that had not been part of the previous educational system. Emphasis however in the educational language policy still remained English, consequently paving the way for another conference in 1961.

Commonwealth Conference on teaching English as second language 1961

The Commonwealth Conference in 1961 on the teaching of English as a second language held at Makerere University recommended that an evolving policy of teaching English as early as possible be put in place. According to Sasan (2011) the conference formulated five English language teaching tenets as;

- English is best taught monolingually;
- The ideal teacher of English is a native speaker;
- The earlier English is taught the better the results; and
- If other languages are used the standard of English will fall

The approach promoted English to the classroom while relegating the non-dominant languages from the school environment. As a result students found speaking the NDLs in school were punished using dehumanising tactics like wearing animal skin, sacks and posters. These practices hammered the last nail into the NDLs in education coffin, in terms of their value, and the attitudes attached to these languages.

Language development in education right from the time of the missionaries to the later Castle Commission of 1963 (see section education after 1924 for details) clearly illustrated the conflict between non-dominant languages, Kiswahili and English (Pawliková-Vilhanová, 1996). The British administration was faced with a language problem that involved among other things, languages used by the masses in informal day to day activity on one hand, and the official nature of English language use on the other. The administration appeared to hold a belief that the use of English in the education process as a medium of acquiring literacy would establish the validity of the language in the eyes of the students as well as the society (Ssekamwa, 1999). For the British, the various languages of Uganda plus Kiswahili presented an obstacle to the integration of the different communities into one national economy which was very much needed to boost the growing country. This practice however, would consequently lead to the marginalisation of NDLs in schools.

Post-Colonial Education and language-in-education

While the previous section reveals the change by the colonial government towards the involvement of citizens in the control and administration of education, this section examines the actual progress of citizens directly influencing decisions, policies and trends in the area of education.

Uganda received its independence in 1962 and immediately the leaders started to ponder ways of having enough manpower and human resources to run the nation effectively. Emphasis was put on building more schools, with better facilities and making those schools available and accessible to those that had the need and capacity for them. This was achieved by the Education Act passed in 1963 that put control, administration and ownership of mission schools into the hands of the government. This act was put in place to provide a competitive ground level for all students regardless of religious denomination. In trying to provide an effective and productive education to harvest an efficient workforce that would spearhead the development of the economy, a commission by the new independent Uganda was put in place. The commission made its recommendations (The Castle Report of 1963) which were to propel the educational system for many years up to 1992. The Castle Report expanded the area languages to six adding Runyankole/Rukiga to the previous five, Akirimajongo/Ateso, Luganda, Lugbara, Lwo and Runyoro/ Rutoro (see section Makerere Conference on language 1944). It also recommended the use of English as a language of instruction in P5 and eventually in P4, and that English would be introduced as a subject in P1. A revision of the educational system that was recommended, and was later adopted, included kindergarten entirely run privately but supervised and regulated by government, seven years of primary school, four years of ordinary level secondary, and two years of advanced secondary school. Finally

after this level, students would either opt for employment or pursue further studies ranging from one to five years of higher education in a tertiary institution.

The Castle report has guided the Ugandan education system until 1992 mostly unchanged, but some issues existed in practice. For example, the policy stated the use of English as a medium of instruction from Primary 4, but the majority of schools in almost the entire country have instructed in English right from P1. Evidence of this is that examinations right from P1 in many schools have been and continue to be set in English. These were partly the reasons that led to the establishment of the Kajubi Commission in 1987, by the new government under President Yoweri Museveni. Currently the education policy is guided by the outcomes of the Kajubi report which was consequently passed as the government White Paper on education in 1992.

The 1990 Education For All (EFA) conference in Jomtien and later the Dakar conference (World Education Forum) in 2000 were also major underpinning forces that influenced major trends in education development in Uganda and Africa as a whole. The outcome made it the most ambitious approach to international development highest on agenda for over a decade and the world leading framework for human development (Higgins & Rwanyange, 2005; Mbah & Ayegba, 2014; Romaine, 2013). The declarations made in these conferences among other things were universal primary education by 2015. Indeed, the government of Uganda introduced free universal primary education (UPE) in 1997 to this effect. In 2010 language was revisited to be at the forefront for inclusion and attainment of all Millennium Development Goals- MDGs (Romaine, 2013). Indeed language and basic quality education through a contextualised, relevant and learner centered curriculum came to be recognised as central in attainment of all the MDGs and therefore genuine development. This trend in international development supported and

propelled the introduction of the thematic curriculum in 2007 and the use of NDLs in Uganda primary schools.

The 1990 Joimtien Conference, in particular was organised in response to the wide spread concern over the inadequacy and deterioration of education systems during the 1980s. Uganda in particular had experienced a period of dictatorship, civil strife and economic decline during the two decades of the nineteen seventies and eighties. This period left a seriously dilapidated and deteriorated education infrastructure which required a major effort in the nineteen nineties to redevelop the education provision in the country. The 1992 education policy (Uganda Government White Paper on education) was partly a response to such declarations as well as a nation emerging from wars and civil strife.

Such internal and external forces of change discussed above therefore; including the rebirth of regional integration of the East African community in 2000 (Sozinho, 2012), have contributed greatly to the current language policy in education that upholds a trilingual language policy in education (English, NDLs and Swahili).

Conclusion

The history and development of the language policy-in-education in Uganda from 1900 to date has evolved around the three languages of Swahili, non-dominant languages and English. It however was focused on achieving the interests of the governing class and the elite rather than the ordinary masses. The current dilemmas in language-in-education policy seem to suggest a deadlock in trying to disentangle from previous focus on achieving interests of the governing class and elite alone to incorporating the interests of the general population. The next chapter will explore further the guiding theories that have led to such language policies in education and a conceptual framework guiding the study. The chapter also considers the body of literature in the field of language and education

from a growing pool of research on languages in education and African languages in particular, African studies and education.

CHAPTER 3

Literature Review

The previous chapter highlighted, in a broader context the background to Uganda's education system and explored in a historical context the background of language policy development in Education. In this chapter, the study will review related literature and related studies on mother tongue medium of instruction in education and some theories and the conceptual framework guiding the study. The initial part is a general debate/discourse on policy, language planning and literacy in a multicultural setting, an overview on implementation theory development followed by the conceptual framework guiding the study, explaining the different factors impacting upon teacher's implementation process. The third part looks within the Ugandan society. It explores the different types of literacy and language education models used in the implementation of language educational policy. It explores what current research suggests as the appropriate models for a multilingual context as Uganda, and critical aspects of concern if the implementation of a mother tongue medium is to be realised as a tenet for quality education for all.

Debate and Theories on Language Policy in Education

Over 50 years of post-colonialism there has been continually sustained levels of illiteracy, slow levels of development, poor performances, high dropout rates in school, poor standards of teaching, learners completing the primary cycle with low competence in both L1 and L2 among others in many African nations (Bamgboṣe, 2000; Ndoleriire, 2004; Pflepsen, 2015). In a number of African countries, most educational researchers and practitioners have concerned themselves with ways and means to overcome these challenges (Alidou et al.,

2006; Chumbow, 2012; Heugh et al., 2007; Hungi, Makuwa, Ross, Saito, Dolata, Van Cappelle, Paviot, & Vellien, 2010; Jones et al., 2014; Namuchwa, 2007; October, 2002; Piper, 2010; Piper & Miksic, 2011; Sabates et al., 2011). This has been an uphill struggle where the policies adopted, especially in education by these countries, for solutions to these problems have been borrowed from the developed world (North will here after mean the developed World). Such approaches to policies in education and language-in-education in particular have tended to exhibit a propensity to be ambiguous, contradictory and at most have not achieved the desired results. This mismatch between policy, context and implementation has been displayed in tendencies by such Governments to muddle through the processes of policy formulation and implementation and many a time abandoning such processes before full completion (Prah, 2003). This gap between policy formulation, implementation and context has in the end resulted in resource waste, duplication as well as a cost effect component on the education system and its products that are impacted upon negatively by such policies (Bangboşe, 2000; Qorro, 2013). Some of the issues that have influenced the adoption of such policies and the inability to attain desired results from implemented programmes by African governments are discussed below:

Language-in-Education Policies as Political /Ideological Consideration

Since the 1990s a paradigm shift has swept through Sub-Saharan Africa, Uganda in particular, in recognising African languages and curriculum change as critical resources in education and development (Altinyelken 2010; Chisholm & Leyendecker, 2008; Chumbow, 2012). These nations have tirelessly grappled with educational quality reform for quality and equitable, sustainable development. It could be questioned as to why such a paradigm shift in educational reform has occurred. According to Ricento (2000) language policy and planning (LPP) has evolved over time in three different historic phases of decolonisation, failure of

modernisation and the new world order from the 1940s to date. Similarly some scholars (Chisholm & Leyendecker, 2008) have attributed this wave to two major external and internal forces -globalisation and decolonisation.

The internal forces have been explained by language ideologies like vernacularisation, internationalisation and globalisation (Kabanze, 2012; Trudell, Young, & Nyaga, 2015). Internal forces look to freedom and emancipation or, according to Ricento (2000) decolonisation, state formation and modernisation (macro socio-political factor). Most Sub-Saharan nations gained independence from the 1960s to 1980s. This period in many nations in Africa was one of development, freedom and self-governance yet it was a period also characterised by extensive political instabilities due to poor governance by the new African leaders that had taken over from their imperial or metropolitan masters. Aspirations for breaking away from the legacies of colonialism and neo-colonialism for genuine development were pivotal in the politics of the new states (Altinyelken, 2010; Chisholm & Leyendecker, 2008; Trudell, Young, & Nyaga, 2015). Chisholm & Leyendecker (2008) argued that such resistance to colonialism incorporated educational ideas that were seen as key to economic, social and political goals. Such ideas reflected support for language equality and maintenance as well as cultural maintenance. They advanced the thought that the majority and minority language groups would coexist in collaborative power relations (Trudell et al., 2015). Among such proponents were late Julius Nyerere of Tanzania and the philosophy of education and self-reliance and use of Kiswahili as a national language and medium of instruction in school (Major & Mulvihill, 2009; Mbilinyi, 2003).

To others, it was more an ideology of internationalisation and globalisation with such ideologies privileging and linking development with the language of the coloniser (English), cultures and communities over the NDLs (Trudell et al., 2015). Using English solely as a medium of instruction and relegating non-dominant languages in school and official

structures would promote unity and curtail language related and ethnic conflicts. Those who advanced this stand point looked at multilingualism as a problem to nation building and monolingualism as a solution (Ricento, 2000). This supports evidence in literature on language and curriculum change implementation which advances that such educational innovations have been easily accepted by governments, not majorly for pedagogical considerations but rather political, economic and perhaps ideological considerations (Bamgboṣe, 2000; Bourdieu, 1996; Coleman, 2005). This perspective is still held by many government leaders and policy practitioners, thus explaining why policy makers stop at the ‘what’ and neglect the ‘how’ in the political decision making process. Scholars advancing the internal forces like Ricento (2000) therefore asserted that the continued demand for NDLs in education is primarily for emancipatory and decolonisation function to realise real independence, self-determination and African renaissance.

External forces on the other hand characterised the neo liberal agenda advanced by the West, in particular the US, IMF and World Bank (King, 2004; Mercer, 2014). This neo-liberal agenda, packaged as globalisation, characterises liberal democracy, with structural adjustment programmes such as liberal marketisation, liberalisation, privatisation and commodification. The impact of globalisation accelerated the political and ideological influence by the major world governments to dominate the world (Mazrui, 2009; Nsibambi, 2001). This convergence to a ‘global village’ has had a propensity to foster an ideological position of uniformity or ‘oneness’ that disregards diversity in difference (Nsibambi, 2001; Phillipson, 1992). This view point carries an ideological episteme that knowledge is the engine of the new informational international economy (Castells, 1994). It advances new forms of technology, global languages and knowledges while it quashes the indigenous and local forms of knowledges and languages; fostering further asymmetric international relations in a technologically divided world (Nsibambi, 2001).

At the other end of the globalisation continuum, the information age is seen as shifting from English dominance to a multilingual configuration driven by American businesses that see great capitalistic value in direct linguistic links with markets (Mazrui, 2009). This is seen through adapting services and products to languages and cultures of other societies (Mazrui, 2009). Abdullah, Abdullah, & Hoon (2009); Ricento (2000) looked at the shift in language policy as a product of world politics embedded in linguistic human rights to facilitate an anticipated transitioning to a new world order that has been ongoing since the 1980s. This shift has led to increased support by donors and foreign governments to projects that embed such dimensions (Gandolfo, 2009). Mazrui (2009) argues further that the knowledge economy has supported penetration of world markets using local languages and thereby transforming them into commodified tools of cultural and economic domination. As affirmed by Mazrui (2009) “it is not unusual for the imperial powers to appropriate relativistic arguments and strategies to promote its [their] own universalistic global agenda of domination and control” (p. 2).

Based on the standpoint of Mazrui, (2009), Ricento (2000) and Abdullah, Abdullah, & Hoon (2009), the trend of using NDLs and the direction it is taking seems to suggest that the African nations are driven by foreign interests rather than their own when formulating and planning language policies. This may explain why in spite of all the research findings that suggest the three year mother tongue policy in African rural primary classrooms as being premature, some donor countries and organisations still uphold and support it as the best path for rural learners (Alidou et al., 2006; Heugh, 2009; Heugh, Benson, Bogale, & Yohannes, 2007). For example, in 2011 the European Union (EU) renewed its development policy and specified a 20% component of EU funds to be allocated to social inclusion and human development (Mercer, 2014). Just like other borrowed policies, this shift could have similar complexities and outcomes unless they are applied on the terms of the users of these policies.

This therefore calls for criticalness in terms of their (NDLs) use, applicability and relevance at the micro level to meet the needs of users. The above trends of thought account for choices, trends and failures in policy formulation and implementation of language policy in Africa.

Impact of Expert Advice and Non-Locally Researched Experimentation

Relating to the above argument, other researchers and scholars have also attributed this failure in language policy and implementation to less capable advisors or experts on policy whose decisions and advice is not based on current research in the field of study (Heugh, 2009; Kabanze, 2012; Spolsky, 2004). Such experts have exhibited a propensity to be detached and insufficiently responsive to local contexts thus unable to provide effective policy and support for planned change efforts (McLaughlin, 1990). Such approaches to policy formulation and implementation of languages in education have also negated the consultation of relevant local experts like linguists, educationists and economists (Alidou et al., 2006). As a consequence such advisors have recommended models to African governments replicated from the North with no consideration for the local contexts (Spolsky, 2004). After all, such experts are normally outsourced from the North and have negative attitudes to African languages (Ouane & Glanz, 2011). This western hegemonic influence reinforces inappropriate policy decisions and propagates neo-colonisation and the recolonisation of the African mind (Brock-Utne, 2000; w'Obanda, 2011). This is evidenced in post-colonial history literature where governments have continually replicated colonial language policies that served the interests of the coloniser and therefore inappropriate to the needs of the current African societies (King, 2004).

Status Quo Maintenance

In general there seems to be a perceived embedded fear among the policy makers (elite) that control the political infrastructure on the consequences of altering the social status quo, and therefore social structural change. This fear may explain the reluctance exhibited among policy makers to implement such policies (Bamgboṣe, 2000; Bourdieu, 1996; Coleman, 2005). Mukama (2009) argued that such political considerations create among policy architects an unclear sense of direction in line with the goals and only consider what is believed right for the general good. In this case, the general good symbolises the aspirations of the dominant minority that hold the power and instruments to make such decisions. Such instruments like English as a language of deliberation in policy making bequeaths the users of English as the best able to make decisions on behalf of the majority who have no access to English. Conversely, such perceived restraint is further reinforced by globalisation exerted through larger structural and powerful hegemonic forces that are generally opposed to language policies that promote NDLs (w'Obanda, 2011).

Organisational Functioning

On the other end of the continuum, some governments have gone ahead to adopt sound language policies in education, by commitment to reform on paper, but avoid and leave the implementation process unfinished. Walshaw and Anthony (2007) explained this mismatch by focusing on the government systems and organisational structures in which policy is constructed. The policy makers do not provide clear demarcation and detail on how the ideas will be realised in practice which consequently leads to failure (Rogan, 2007). Sookrajh & Joshua (2009) findings affirmed that the implementers at the different levels fail to formulate and initiate implementation strategies. The communication chain is not well planned and structured that implementers do not have appropriate knowledge on how the

implementation process is going to be undertaken (Jones, 2012). This includes clear government systems, organisation structures, guidelines, rights, responsibilities and sanctions to the implementation process. Support systems like training and technical assistance are also not well established. In the absence of such support systems, implementers are left with no choice but to muddle through the process while adopting ad hoc adjustments amidst frustration and short term coping strategies that dilute the anticipated innovation (Altinyelken, 2010; Durlak & Dupre, 2008).

Tendency to Separate Policy Formulation from Implementation

Related to the above argument is the fact that some politicians have had a propensity to view policy formulation as a prestigious element of political decision-making, and as such neglect the implementation process. The politicians engaged in policy making, many a time think that decisions made through policy formulation will automatically trickle down to practice. Hence, they do not see implementation as part of an integral process of policy formulation (Dyer, 1999). This is made more difficult by lack of substantial research in policy implementation which inhibits continued repetition of mistakes and continued waste of resources (Dyer, 1999). Baldauf (1994) argued that this disconnection in planning created divergent goals among policy planners and the implementing administration with no agreed language implementation plan (general language planning framework) in Aboriginal bilingual language programmes. As such the lack of a consolidated general language planning framework involving implementation missed to capture the aspect of context in the evaluation of Aboriginal bilingual language programmes consequently resulting in failure. In the end the implementers are confronted with conflicting interpretations and understandings since they are left out of the formulation process (Rogan, 2007; Walshaw & Anthony, 2007). This has resulted in failure to notice, modifications, reinventions and at times rejection

especially when the implementers conceive the policy to be either harmful or impractical. Studies done in some countries have evidenced that by adopting unclear policies that lack detail on realisation of the practice, implementers in the end such as teachers, civil society, parents are left to interpret it differently and at times in a contradictory manner (Heugh et al., 2007).

The discussion on issues above has highlighted on some of the perspectives, ideologies and trends that have led to unsuccessful language policies-in-education in Africa. In the next section a more in-depth discussion will follow looking at mother tongue and English as major language entities, their roles, value and impact as languages of instruction in education.

Mother Tongue vs English

At the wake of Jomtien Declaration of the World Conference for Education in 1990 in Thailand and World Education Forum 2000, in Dakar , Africa countries committed to and embarked on solving problems in education with the ‘Education for All’ taking a central stage as a requirement to fulfilling the millennium development goals. However, among the issues that were explored, language in education was not given utmost importance (Brock-Utne, 2000). Languages as medium of instruction in education are vitally important in the educational processes, yet given little or no attention at both local and international scene. Prah (2003) affirmed this when he stated that language has a far-reaching significant feature in any education system. In instances where a foreign language is used as the medium of instruction, there has been a tendency of such education systems to be identified with structural inequality, self-hatred, and discrimination (Brock-Utne, 2012; Doriani and Boruch, 2014; Kyeyune, 2003). In instances where mother tongue has been used as a medium of instruction there has been a propensity of not only strengthening the developmental capacity

of the mother tongue but has also facilitated the development of the second and even the third language (Brock-Utne, 2012; Brock-Utne & Mercer, 2013). Indeed, the literature on mother tongue attests that children will benefit cognitively, culturally, socially and linguistically when taught in their mother tongue as a medium of instruction in the early years of school (Ejeh, 2004).

Case of Mother Tongue

Studies from Africa and the rest of the world on multilingual education reveal that using a first language (L1), in this case the MoI in the early years of school is the best path of learners gaining literacy at the earliest time possible (Bamgboṣe, 2000; Heugh, 2000; Heugh, 2006; Skutnabb-Kangas & Toukamaa, 1976; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000). The proponents of this view acknowledge that this approach is, pedagogically, the best in delivering faster and improved capacity of acquisition of knowledge by learners. Related literature in second language acquisition also reveals that the level of proficiency in the first language has a direct correlation on the development of proficiency on a second language (Cummins, 1989; Heugh, 2009b; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000). Indeed the literature on mother tongue suggests that children will benefit cognitively, culturally, socially and linguistically when taught in their mother tongue as a medium of instruction in the early years of school (Brock-Utne, 2000; Ejeh, 2004; Prah, 2003; Thomas & Collier, 1997).

UNESCO, the main organisation in the UN system responsible for education with its stance and activities in the field of mother tongue, stressed for decades that teaching a child in his local language is both a human linguistic right and a basis for intellectual and cognitive development. In addition, other world influential bodies, such as the World Bank recognise the critical importance of mother tongue instruction in the early years of school, but little had been done in Africa to support this acknowledgement (Mazrui, 1997). The current trend in

the World Bank policies however seems to point to more support in the local languages as tensions increase for meeting the millennium development targets.

Some education researchers and social linguists (Alidou et al., 2006; Bamgboṣe, 2000; Brock-Utne, 2000; Heugh et al., 2007; Prah, 2003) concur that the use of mother tongue is a recipe for fast and increased literacy in both L1 and L2 and all the advantages accrued from using more than one language. They argue further however, that in an African context the benefits can only be accrued when instruction takes a longer time in L1, at least from 6 years and above. They stress that by the sixth year in school the learners have attained a well-developed spoken and written proficiency in both languages, as long as other factors like trained teachers, availability of instructional and teaching materials among others are available. The findings of the “Ife Primary Education Project 1970-1978” in Nigeria (Bamgboṣe, 2000) appropriately attest to this school of thought where switch in Yoruba medium instruction evidenced success after six years, with better performances compared to those that switched to L2 at level three. Hence, signifying that switching to L2 in level four was not enough attainment for literacy in both languages.

This is also affirmed by Piper (2010); Piper and Miksic (2011) that children usually have not attained fluency in the first language when starting school due to immature speech patterns. Introducing a second language as a MOI therefore impacts negatively on the children. Wolff (2006) concurred with the above scholars when he argued that the learner needs to comprehend and construct written language required for proper use to a level of written texts for the learning of the subjects involved in L1. And that a similar level of competence for L2 has to be attained for use in upper classes. Wolff (2006), Piper (2010) and Piper, Schroeder, & Trudell (2015) therefore disarm the general misconception among scholars and policy makers that the language children come with to the school is well developed for educational challenges. This indeed means that by grade three, learners would

only have a small fraction of the language skills needed to learn the curriculum. Heugh (2006) affirmed this position of thought when she asserted that;

- Subtractive and early exit transitional models can only offer learners a score of between 20% and 40% in L2 by end of school, which means failure across the curriculum;
- Mother tongue education needs to be reinforced and developed for at least 6 years of formal school for successful L2 and academic success to occur and
- Under normal optimal conditions, it would take 6-8 years to learn L2 sufficiently for use as a medium of instruction with efficiently trained teachers, appropriate instructional materials and appropriate teaching methods.

Heugh (2006) and Heugh (2012) affirmed that language models that retain mother tongue as medium of instruction for six years can succeed under well-resourced conditions. In the rural setting of Uganda primary schools however, well-resourced conditions are not always in existence. Heugh advises that in such situations as those of Ugandan rural primary school it would call for eight years and above for one to sufficiently learn L2 for use as a language of instruction. A detailed discussion on language models is presented in the subsequent section of this chapter.

Some scholars, (Brock-Utne, 2000) have asserted that such language models in education have been applied for purposes of boosting a better foundation for English. The proponents of NDLs as MoI in early years (P1-P3) assert that the best way to learn English is by effectively first gaining literacy in the first language (Kadeghe, 2003). This thought is influenced by studies carried out in the North on migrant children in English dominant classrooms. Such subtractive multilingual models have however been contested by Afrocentric scholars, linguists and Pan Africanists who feel that such an approach is geared to sustain and reproduce the linguistic, cultural and social capital of English (Chad, 2011).

This could also explain why even when NDLs are used as medium of instruction up to P3, they are less emphasised in the classroom as subjects to the point that some end at this level (P3) since they are not examinable at P7. The utilization of such models has been linked to the continued propagation of social economic stratification of the population while to others it has signified the recolonisation of the African mind (Brock-Utne, 2000; w'Obanda, 2011). The scholars that critique this approach do not however challenge the principle that children learn better when instructed in their mother tongue. They reasonably agree with Heugh (2006) and Heugh (2012) that it should take a much longer time for successful results to occur. This is also supported by the theory of interdependence hypothesis (Cummins, 1979; Cummins, 1984 Cummins, 2008), if learners do not reach the threshold, the impact of this switch will be negative.

Studies in South Africa on the threshold project in 1990 (October, 2002), revealed that learners could not transfer knowledge attained using the first language to the second language and neither could they explain what they had acquired using the second language to the first language in standard three (October, 2002). The South African studies reaffirm the fears of this negative impact on learners by Heugh, (2012), Heugh, (2006) and Wolff (2006). This is a concern for the mother tongue language policy in Uganda currently undergoing implementation and calls for a need to revisit and critically digest it in relation to the policy objectives. The current policy poses a great dilemma to implementers especially those who are critical on the abrupt switch from instruction in L1 to instruction to L2 at P3. This category of educators are informed through their experience as teachers over the years and through research that learners have not developed L2 sufficiently to use it as a medium of instruction by P4. Therefore, such educators seem to have a propensity not to support the programme since they may not believe in it or in the way it is done. Considering the prevailing circumstances of ineffective and inefficient teaching of English in the Ugandan

rural contexts (Kyeyune, 2003); accompanied by deficiency in the mother tongue literacy, the likely outcomes seems to align with the fears exhibited by the scholars above of detrimental effects on learners.

Mother tongue and development

The relationship between language and development has been highly debated as being the apex for African renaissance. Ali Mazrui (1978) cited in Brock-Utne (2000, p. 216) affirmed this when he argued that the full maturity of African education will come only when Africa develops a capacity to innovate independently in familiar languages. This is also supported by Alidou et al. (2006) who concurred with Prah (2003) that indeed language and development issues are inseparable. It stands out therefore that development can only prevail when the language factor is fully considered. Wolff (2006) stated that development is about communication and yet such a link is largely ignored by practitioners and policy makers and advises that policy formulation and implementation should involve closer cooperation between linguists, educationists and economists. The Figure 5 below shows the linkages between language, education and development.

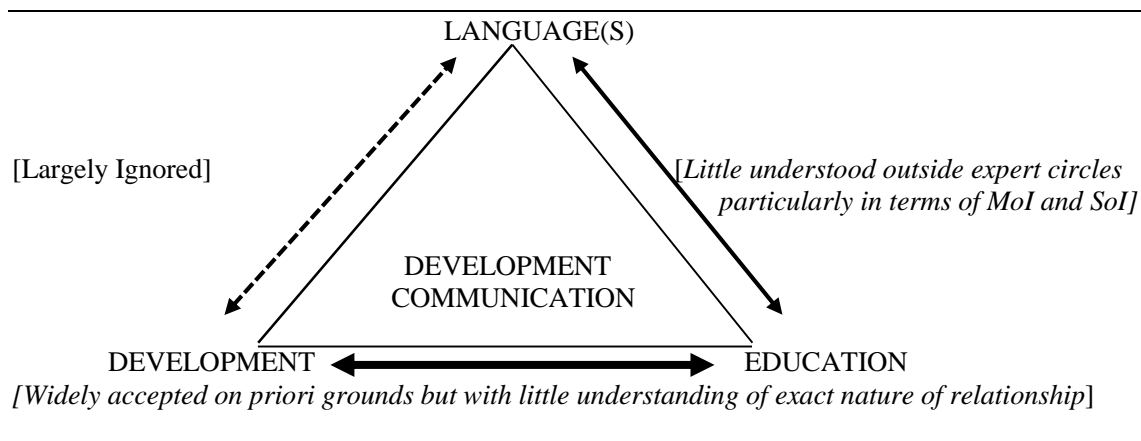


Figure 5. Model of development communication with regard to languages and education

Note. Adapted from Alidou et al., (2006:p. 28). SOI=Subject of Instruction, MOI=Medium of Instruction

In the modern world of the knowledge and information age, as Castells (1999) suggested, Africa continues to be dependent on knowledge and information through a foreign language that is only accessed by a small fraction of the population. It therefore looks obvious that the only way the majority can get on this fast train of interacting in the knowledge and information age is by uplifting the local knowledge, information and languages to perform the different functions in the development process. Prah (2011) argued that for Africa to realise development it must first be seen in the lives of the general population through optimization of the capacity of the population to intervene intelligently, creatively and knowledgeably in pursuit of their livelihood (Finlayson & Madiba, 2002; World Bank, 2011). This means building on what masses already know that is constructed in their cultures and languages (Breidlid, 2003; Breidlid, 2012). Prah (2011) asserted that all the best ideas of western thought can only be adopted if translated into the cultural and linguistic belonging of the population. Ruiz (1995) supported this view when he says that for these policies to have effect on language behaviour, they must be comprehensive in scope to target

the common life activities of the communities and included in the implementation strategies. To be able to establish a non-antagonistic combination of indigenous and non-indigenous perspectives and begin to realise sustainable development in its real sense, education in development should be seen in terms of general public empowerment and all inclusive, tapping the cooperation of all development, poverty, education and language experts among others.

Mother Tongue and Culture

Lo Bianco, Liddicoat, and Crozet (1999) defined culture as learned, transmitted, changing but also stable activities of the groups we belong to and identify with and languages as the central vehicles of culture over space, time and imagination. They advanced that cultural membership is learnt and reminded through language in its elements like talking, products like high literature, stories and myths etc. Culture also cuts across the mental, ideological universe where ideas, thoughts and ideologies get attached to group members (Lo Bianco et al., 1999). Culture is a learned patterned social behaviour that is constructed, constantly in motion, unstable, changing both from within and modified by external influence. Therefore over time due to the dynamics of social forces, culture advances, modifies while losing out on some aspects that may seem to lag behind or become irrelevant overtime and space.

In the understanding that culture is not static, a more pragmatic approach is advanced by some more liberal scholars who are more accommodative to other cultures and yet advancing the African languages as a basis for knowledge creation as well as social- cultural and educational emancipation. Scholars like Alidou et al. (2006); Lim (1991); Prah (2002); Taylor-Leech (2013) view language in education as a path for educational freedom, self-awareness, belonging, esteem, identity and development. They envisage multilingualism as

an added advantage to the learners especially given the African history and multilingual setup. Exposure to other languages embeds different cultures and knowledges and varied viewpoints hence creating better global citizens. Such learners are bound to appreciate the views and ways of knowing of other communities and in turn develop wider conceptual understandings, promote greater cohesion between the various cultures and look beyond cultural boundaries (Blackledge, 2010; Kamwendo, 2009; Muzoora, Terry & Asimwe (2013). The non-dominant languages in this perspective are seen not as opposing each other but as complimentary and empowering, hence, upholding the aspect of differences of value and the value of difference (Kosonen, 2008; Smith & Riley, 2009).

Lim (1991) argued that with the inevitability of English in this age of globalisation, full efforts to boost the ethnic languages and cultures are apparent, as well as better English teaching methodologies to meet international standards. Lim (1991) argued that the outcomes of all the renewed programmes of action are not to reduce the influence of English, but an emergence of a strong sense of cultural identity to balance the influence. Lo Bianco et al. (1999) asserted that culture is an inherent part of language and that language itself is culture. Therefore knowing another culture from within inevitably implies learning the language of that culture. In the Ugandan context, due to vast ethnic groups that are intertwined learning other languages is almost inevitable and automatic hence such a setting of cultural diversity is a more likely unifying factor with linguistic diversity as a necessary component. Prah (2002) asserted that languages are cultural packages, with language being the main pillar of cultural systems. Prah (2002) argued further that literacy in a cultural system is a pointer to the development capacity of the language as a basis for development of new knowledge into that society. This trend of thought look to diversity in terms of culture and language, with effective use of languages and sustenance of cultures at local, national, regional and international levels (Sozinho, 2012). Whilst using English with varying degrees between and

within these levels, Lim (1991) warns that English in this 21st century should be looked at in terms of communicative effectiveness not mastery for effective participatory citizenship. Lim (1991) affirmed further that effort need be made of keeping one's own culture intact while being exposed to that of others at the same time and yet, effectively teaching English. This is achieved through attitude change, promotion of own culture in English language teaching programmes, production of local text and teaching materials (Kosonen, 2008). The use of English by Africans should be on their own terms, to be used to serve and not for domination.

Mother Tongue and Globalization

Globalisation is the tearing down of geographical boundaries, removal of limitations and global access through information technology across and between world societies socially, economically and politically (Nsibambi, 2001). Nsibambi (2001) asserted further that this process involves the penetration into the political, social, economic and cultural realms of countries internationally, facilitated by policies of dominant world governments through international agencies like World bank/IMF, multi-national organisations and civil society organisations disguised as a free and self-determining process. In reality however it seeks to accelerate the economic, technological, political and ideological influence by the major world governments to dominate the world (Mazrui, 2009). This is majorly through information technology that has converged the world into a global village. This convergence has presented globalisation as a two-edged sword presenting greater opportunities to those economies already advantaged while marginalising others that are disadvantaged.

Globalisation is perceived as closer interactions and integration among nations fostering an ideological position of uniformity or 'oneness'. Wolff (2006) asserted that this integration in leadership, culture, language and so on sometimes fosters conditions that are discriminatory to poor nations, and their political, economic and social cultural fabric.

Globalisation in this understanding threatens to unearth and accelerate the recolonisation process among the countries that have for decades been fighting to disentangle from this colonialism web (Smith & Ward, 2000; w'Obanda, 2011). w'Obanda (2011) asserted that this interaction is not any different from the previous interactions Africa has had with the North; in the era of slave trade, colonialism, to neo-colonialism and finally to globalisation, a process he identifies as recolonisation of Africa, a last stage of imperialism. He sums it all up as continued episodes of continued dominance and exploitation but in a rather different form by the North at the expense of poor nations.

Globalisation has promoted popular culture where Western attitudes, values, perspectives and life style have become increasingly dominant. This is presenting unprecedented threat to the autonomy of the indigenous societies and society empowerments, increased inequality, increased loss of identity and increasing commodification of culture (Smith & Ward, 2000). For example, the aspect of cultural weddings is increasingly forfeiting cultural underpinnings and purpose attached to the activity in Uganda and tending towards power and self-aggrandisement (commercialisation). While the developed economies prosper from globalisation on the expense of the developing nations through transnational companies, multinational organisations, new markets and hegemonic cultural practices, the developing economies fight on for cultural survival, struggle for control of their knowledge, languages and lands (Smith, 1999). These policies of IMF and World Bank have made developing nations lose control of their economies to multinational organisations and consequently as argued, there cannot be economic independence without political independence. Hence, affirming the recolonization of Africa as the last stage of imperialism as asserted by (w'Obanda (2011).

This therefore calls for realignment in manoeuvre from the process of decolonisation through transformation of social roles and structures that control them to more

accommodative manner of using contemporary forms of communication to sustain strengthen and promote indigenous forms like knowledge, language and culture among others (King, 2004). The aspect of creation of new aspects of indigenous forms is important like harmonisation of similar dialects to form wider languages of communication, this approach would deliver substantial benefits to regions of Africa and the countries involved in particular (Sozinho, 2012). Adaptation of frameworks that meet particular circumstances while retaining a universal own like using information technology to restore, facilitate traditional information exchange, legislative support through cultural and intellectual property hence change not coming as a violation of the indigenous values but as a realisation of a potential in these values.

In conclusion the section above explored a body of literature in the field of language and education with particular reference to African languages and education. It looked at why some African states have ended up with particular language policies and models as well as the importance of mother tongue. The following section looks at the importance of English and its role in Education.

A Case for English

Most, if not all, of the African countries that were colonised by Western countries have had fundamental issues related to language in education. Most of these countries have tended to use the language of the former colonizer both as a medium through which all knowledge is acquired and as national languages. Brann (1985) identified 30 African nations engaged in this same language policy situation. This is because most countries after attaining independence looked at adopting an international language, in the case of Uganda, English as a unifying factor that would promote social cohesion (Mukama, 2009; Tembe & Norton, 2008). The governments worked on the assumption that the ethnic diversity would be

harmonised by these international languages since no ethnic group would claim English and therefore acceptable to all the communities (Parry, 1999). Using a local language was believed, would promote ethnic tensions and disunity among the populations since taking on a single local language was conceived as privileging that ethnic community while at the same time marginalising the other communities that were to have the privileged language as a second language. The international or supra-languages as identified by Parry (1999), such as English therefore seemed the only possible option to modernisation and development, which was crucial for the emerging states. These tensions have put the issue of language in education not just as a pedagogic consideration, but as a social, economic, financial, and most significantly political issue. Therefore the language policy and implementation in Uganda reflects not only the past and present political, economic and cultural inter-twining's, but also relates to intransigent government policies. Alexander cited in (Alidou et al., 2006) identifies this complexity as the status quo maintenance syndrome, as shown in figure 6.

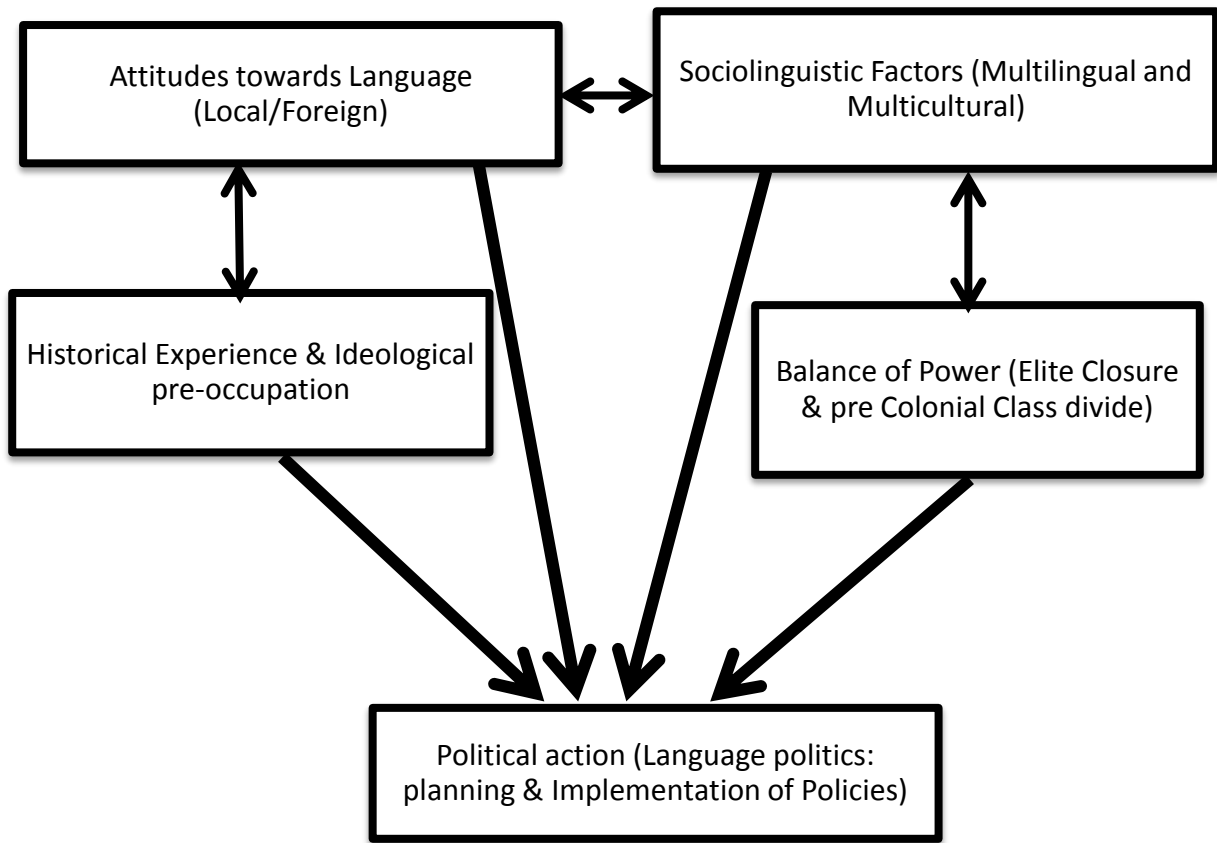


Figure 6. The interplay of social factors and the language implementation process (Alidou et al 2006, p.28)

The paradox is that the monolingual English approach in education has only benefited a small fraction of the population while the majority of up to 88% denied access since their languages are not used in the education process (Kirunda, 2005). The few that hold a ‘highly prestigious’ language (English) are also deemed the best able to discuss the issues of the general population while those best able to discuss such issues that affect them are excluded by the fact that they do not speak or read and write in English. The use of English as both an official language and language of instruction in education though did not favour a particular ethnic group it created a class society (Kirunda, 2005). The elite in their desire to sustain the

status quo in the social structure interferes with the large percentage of the population's capacities to engage in the political participation and self-determination. This has made the large part of the population believe that their languages are outside the circle of knowledge generation and acquisition. This situation in summary has created a communication and knowledge gap between the elite [Urban] and the larger part of the population [Rural] (Kirunda, 2005).

In a broader context, the proponents of English as a medium of instruction advance that English is an international language, language of technology, of knowledge and globalization. While to others, it is a language of high social status, power and a prosperous world (Kadeghe, 2003; Kate, 1999; Ochieng, 2012; Pflapsen, 2015). English is perceived as having an edge since it provides cultural neutrality, high prestige, ready-made educational materials and a medium of international communication (Bernsten, 1998). Proponents of this school of thought believe that English is best learned by using it as a medium of instruction in other subjects (Ladefoged et al., 1972). Indeed, with the world unifying fast into a global village and knowledge as suggested by Castells (1999) as a central tenet of this new information era, working outside English would be suicidal. Advocates of this paradigm seem to confuse the goals of promoting English in education for academic purpose with goals of learning English as a language. Zehlia (2015) argued that learning (education) and learning a language have different goals and that such goals should be explicitly differentiated and attainment of such goals found. It is pertinent that such language policies cater for every aspect of people's political, economic, social and intellectual life without impacting on the majority of the learners in a negative sense. In the current scenario English in education is not used for enabling reasons and in the interest of the user but rather disabling in its current early exit model form. Study findings in the African townships in South Africa by Zubeida (2003), supported the above stand point where learners would neither acquire English

effectively nor develop proficiency in mother tongue. This study throws light on the fact that if implementation of these language policies in education are not critically analysed, goals explicitly differentiated and attainment of such goals found and informed by current research, even with inclusion of non-dominant languages as it is to date, it could result in disastrous outcomes.

English as Linguistic imperialism

Proponents for change of languages in education view the above approach as advancing linguistic imperialism. This view of English, especially in those countries that were colonised, is to serve the interests of the former metropolitan nations (Mazrui & Mazrui, 1998; Mamdani, 1996; Phillipson, 1996). Singh and Singh (1999) affirm this linguistic capital (referring to a statement by British Council):

There is an element of hidden sales in every English teacher, book, magazine, film strip and television programme sent overseas. In helping to sell the English language worldwide through spreading its study and use, the council simultaneously tried to develop students' cultural understanding of British literature, arts, and politics, and to further the interests of Britain, that the spending of public money on this cultural propaganda is justified by its political and economic significance. Politically council used its views to influence the elite in former colonial countries as part of cold war struggles and economically opening the world more readily to English salesmen. (p. 145)

Mazrui & Mazrui (1998); Phillipson (1992, 1996) argued further that linguistic dependency is inseparable from intellectual and scientific dependency. According to Mazrui & Mazrui (1998) the domination of a people's language by languages of the colonising nation is crucial to the domination of the mental universe of the colonised. Brock-Utne (2000) identifies this phenomenon as the recolonisation of the African mind. This draws its support from observations that those who are most proficient in European languages are also the most

westernised culturally (Brock-Utne, 2000). Mazrui & Mazrui (1998) advanced further that linguistic liberation can only be attained through freeing the European languages from their oppressive meanings over the subjugated people by promoting African languages especially in the academic arena (Muzoora & Terry, 2015). The dilemma however is that in the African context, it turns out to be a paradox since it is the elite, the beneficiaries of this linguistic power echelon that are required to take this dominant position to influence this transformation and yet sceptical of the consequences. Bernstein (1998) cautioned that these highly educated people may not be representative of those they claim to speak for but rather may have goals that are very different from the masses they strive to mobilise. Prah (2001) however, interjected this criticism observing that despite of the homogeneity and guarded interests of the African elites, they cannot generally be considered to be uniform in ideas. He argues that there are those who are Africanists and those that are non-Africanists (cultural westerners) and that it is within the contestation of these two and how they engage the minds and actions of the masses that will determine this change. The elite(non-Africanists) are highly likely to resist this transformation or any practices, tastes, medium of instruction that threaten their existence in terms of the power bequeathed upon them by a dominant language.

English linguistic and social capital

Bourdieu (1996) in his theory of cultural and economic capital stated that social space a structure that manifests itself in form of spatial oppositions is constructed in such a way that groups are distributed according to positions based on differentiation. Those who hold the highest volume of cultural capital and economic capital are opposed to those who are most deprived of economic and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1996; Breidlid, 2003). This opposition is exhibited in the dispositions, termed as *habitus* by Bourdieu that acts as a generative and unifying principle into unitary lifestyle. This system recreates and reproduces the socio-

economic structure of a nation by using habitus of the dominant ideology as a basis (Bourdieu, 1996). Hence, therefore, the sections richest in cultural and economic capital are more inclined to invest in their children's education to maintain and sustain them and are most likely to resist promotion of African languages (Bagwasi, 2010). This social and cultural reproduction in essence will lead to the continued sustenance of the status quo. It can be argued however that the products of this status quo propelled and reproduced in the social structure by the dominant ideology would as well benefit from the use of African languages. Hence they could reflect on who they really are, realign themselves with their cultures and also reap from the benefits of multilingualism and diversity consequently leading to development. On the other hand, continued propagation of the elite hegemony would only continue to individualise the society, tear down the cultural norms and values of the societies and consequently lead to anomy, increased commercialisation of cultures and language deaths of these societies (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2002; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2009).

This English monolingual approach has not delivered as expected over the years. As such, it has continuously produced low scores, increased dropout rates, low retention rates and sustained levels of illiteracy throughout the primary cycle especially in rural area schools (Ndoleriire, 2004; Pflapsen, 2015). Research findings from South Africa by Macdonald (1990) showed that learners by end of grade 3 [P3] have approximately 700 English words when in reality at least 7000 are needed to learn through the English medium. This calls longer time for studying English as a subject with well qualified teachers and therefore not cognitively sufficient for academic language proficiency needed at P4 as a medium of instruction. The above research findings align with those advanced earlier by (Alidou et al., 2006; Ouane & Glanz, 2011).

The previous section looked at mother tongue and English in education, the next section explores the different theories and models of literacy and language education used to

implement language education policy. A substantial discussion has occurred in the previous section; however, this section will discuss these models in relation to what some current research suggests for African nations.

Literacy and Language Education Models

Approaches to language in education policies in multilingual situations like in Africa can be identified to include three language policy types; total-endoglossic, total-exoglossic and mixed or combined endoglossic and exoglossic approaches (Alidou et al., 2006; Ruiz, 1995).

The total endoglossic language in education policies are those that work to advance or promote the indigenous languages (mother tongue or area language) as a medium of instruction throughout the educational system with the foreign language taught as a subject. This is practised by countries such as Norway, Sweden, Germany and other western nations among others.

The total exoglossic policies on the other hand are those that promote an outside language, in the African context, the colonial languages or foreign languages. This approach does not consider the first language or mother tongue of the learners. Such policies have a tendency to suffocate and quash the first language/mother tongue and consequently contribute to language shift (Ruiz, 1995).

Mixed/combined endoglossic and exoglossic policies generally include bilingual approaches that promote the use of indigenous and foreign languages. They incorporate both subtractive and additive bilingualism. In Most African, countries as discussed in the earlier chapters have tended to mixed or combined endglossic and exoglossic approach with some others opting for total exoglossic policies like a case of Zambia. A discussion of these approaches in the African context is below.

Bilingual Education and Cognitive Development

Studies over the years have shown positive academic and cognitive benefits accruing from bilingualism (Bamgboṣe, 2000; Heugh, 2000; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000). This would however only be possible after the learners have developed competence in the two languages fully (Alidou et al., 2006). Educators and language experts worldwide concur with the principle that use of L1, in the Ugandan context, mother tongue in the early years of education leads to faster literacy in L1 and forms a basis for literacy in L2. This point of departure is explained by the theories of threshold level hypothesis (Skutnabb-Kangas & Toukamaa, 1976) and developmental interdependence hypothesis (Cummins, 1984) in the next section. The point of departure however is especially in consideration of the African context is its background and set up to determine at what point the switch from L1 to L2 is made, and whether that switch is actually necessary if L2 has competent and well qualified teachers to teach it as a subject.

Threshold, Interdependence, CALP and BICS

Skutnabb-Kangas & Toukamaa (1976) proposed the Threshold hypothesis to try to find answers to explain the influence of bilingualism on cognition and academic functioning of learners. Cummins (1976); Skutnabb-Kangas & Toukamaa (1976) Advanced that there is a certain level (threshold) at which linguistic competence must be attained in each language in order for bilingual children to avoid cognitive deficits and for bilingualism to take positive effect on their cognitive development. Skutnabb-Kangas & Toukamaa (1976) advanced that if such level of competence (lower threshold) in L1 is not reached or achieved then negative cognitive effects are bound to occur or are un-avoided. Skutnabb-Kangas & Toukamaa (1976) referred to as detrimental effects. The second threshold (higher Threshold) was necessary to

all potential benefits of bilingualism to influence cognition (Cummins, 1984), which is also called Additive bilingualism. They further advanced that between the first and second threshold neither positive nor negative cognitive effects are achieved, also called Neutral effects. These two thresholds constitute additive and subtractive bilingualism. Much as the threshold hypothesis helped in understanding the relationship between bilingualism and cognition growth it did not identify the exact level (threshold) when a minority student would have sufficient English proficiency to participate effectively in an all English class (Cummins, 1984). Hence, this made its applicability hypothetical and therefore inconclusive. In other words, it did not effectively provide for the right time to transition to English. In the above threshold hypothesis, the relationship between first language (L1) and second language (L2) were not critically given consideration (Cummins, 1984).

In the second hypothesis, the developmental interdependence hypothesis, Cummins (1984) stated that the level of second language (L2) competence attained by the bilingual child is partly a function of level of competence the child has attained in first language (L1) at the start of intensive exposure to L2 (Clyne, 1986; Cummins, 1979). This meant that L1 and L2 were developmentally independent (Cummins, 1984). Cummins (1984) advanced this theory to explain inconsistencies in findings generated by studies showing negative and positive results among Finnish children that had migrated to Sweden (Skutnabb-Kangas & Toukamaa, 1976). According to the study, children that migrated before developing their first language had been found not to have developed second language literacy as comparable to those that migrated after they had attained first language literacy.

Cummins (1979; 1984) in defining levels of linguistic competence basing on the above findings derived the interdependency hypothesis distinguished basic interpersonal communication skills (BICS), which are every day communication skills (oral fluency and sociolinguistic competence) from academic/cognitive language proficiency (CALP) which

involve the cognitive/metalinguistic abilities. At this point, the level of competence attained in L2 is considered a function of competence attained in L1. Cummins (1984) argued that this theory is consistent with the threshold hypothesis in explaining the positive cognitive and academic benefits a learner accrues when he/she develops a level of CALP in both languages. Cummins (1984) stressed that the BICS has often led to misconceptions on learners in class to handle rigorous academic tasks when actually his/her proficiency to meet these rigours has not yet been attained. The CALP-BICS was later reformulated into the Common underlying proficiency (CUP)/academic language proficiency capable of being developed through instruction in any of the languages (L1, L2) and communicative competence/ conversational proficiency (Cummins, 2000; 2001; 2008). This theory will guide the study in the analysis, interpretation and explanation of the study findings.

The findings based on the two theories attest that children will suffer no cognitive and linguistic deficiencies by accessing the curriculum through the medium of the L2 as long as the learner reaches the threshold/CALP-(Cummins, 1984). According to Cummins (1984) the two language points (BICS, CALP) are sequential with two to three years of BICs/conversational proficiency and five to seven years for CALP/ Academic language proficiency among immigrant children (Cummins, 2000). The theory however seems to down play the aspects of language development from birth and not clear on when CALP/ academic language proficiency actually is attained.

The concept of CALP/academic language proficiency could be used here to offer an explanation for the challenges at P4 involving the switch met by teachers and learners. Teachers misconceive oral fluency/conversational proficiency and sociolinguistic competence as a basis for handling academic tasks when in fact their cognitive/academic language proficiency has not developed to the required level. In the African context, according to (Heugh 2006; Heugh 2012; Welch, 2012), the attainment of adequate cognitive,

linguistic and academic skills takes six to eight years of school with appropriate teachers and instructional materials to achieve. The transfer of these skills to L2 requires at least six years of formal schooling with effective teaching of L2 as a subject but only in conditions of well-trained teachers, well-resourced learning situations in both languages. Such situations are not readily available more so in the rural areas. Heugh (2006) advanced that such areas with ill-resourced learning environments can take not less than eight years of schooling for such academic/cognitive language proficiency to develop. This would imply using mother tongue medium throughout primary school.

Bilingual and Monolingual Models

These models in general target the second language to effectively be used as a medium of instruction throughout the learning process (Wolff, 2011). These models are tailored to mainstream monolingual communities or countries like English speaking children in Canadian French immersion programmes, or children of immigrants in Tasmania that are submersed in mainstream English language schools. This is advantageous in a sense that the communities promote the language since English is both in the school and immediate communities. These models however suffocate the L1, and English (L2) in this instance replaces L1.

Subtractive and transitional bilingual educational models

The model advances that a switch from L1 to L2 should be done as early as possible. The abrupt switch to L2 model in the first grade/ level, also referred to as submersion model (Alidou et al., 2006; Heugh et al., 2007). L2 is also taught as a subject. This is the type of model that the Ugandan system uses in the urban areas of Uganda classrooms as well as some rural schools that have not yet embraced the mother tongue policy.

Transitional bilingual educational models

These models are sub divided into two;

Early exit transitional model. The proponents of this model advance that a switch from L1 to L2 should be made as early as possible. It gives some allowance in the L1 up to level/P3 or P4 and then a switch to English. This model is advanced by the Ugandan government for the rural classrooms. These learners, in the rural areas, only access the second language at school with the environment outside school not supporting the learning of L2. A likely consequences with this model is illiteracy in both languages as neither one is adequately supported. Some scholars have argued that models that emphasise a switch from L1 to L2 early have demonstrated to be inefficient and counterproductive in an African context (Alidou et al., 2006; Bamgboṣe, 2000; Prah, 2003). Accordingly, Heugh (2011) argued that no linguistic expert or research by 2010 has acknowledged or validated internationally that this switch translates to achievement in curriculum in the second half of primary school and secondary school in the African context. In fact available research by Melhherbe (1943 cited in Heugh 2011); Bamgboṣe, (2000) and Macdonald (1990) all attest to the fact that four years are not enough for learners to be able to cope with the linguistic demands needed to handle the curriculum.

Late exit transitional model. The proponents of this model argue that the switch from L1 to L2 should be done at later years, about the level P6-P8. This model considers that learners have to develop a level of competence in L1 to be able to handle cognitive and academic rigours in L1 and using it as a basis for faster literacy in L2. Findings from studies such as Bamgboṣe (2000); Benson, et al. (2012); Heugh (2011); & Heugh (2006) attested to high levels of academic achievement throughout the curriculum as a result of adopting late exit models and additive models.

Additive Model

These models target mother tongue (L1) throughout school but with efficient and effective teaching in L2. They also target L1 and L2 as complementary mediums of instruction throughout school but with mother tongue (L1) given the major emphasis. Some of these models are used throughout school in L1 and switch at University to L2 as a medium of instruction in most western countries (Alidou et al., 2006) argue that most African countries have relied on early exit traditional models of education majorly because these models were introduced by missionaries who influenced the education of these countries. This approach therefore promotes language and cognitive proficiency in both the first and second language.

Some scholars (Brock-Utne, 2003; Heugh et al., 2007) have argued that models that emphasise a switch from L1 to L2 early have demonstrated to be inefficient and counterproductive in an African context over the years. Based on current available research, (Alidou et al., 2006; Heugh, 2008) advances 3 models that are applicable models for Africa. These models are:

- Mother tongue MoI throughout school while English (L2) is taught as a subject by expert teachers (Welch, 2012). This is supported by research drawn from South Africa (Melhherbe, 1943 cited in Heugh 2011); which attested that mother tongue (L1) speakers of Afrikaans had become highly proficient in English, when English was taught by experts as a subject for one lesson per day. A very late exit transition to English (L2) Model, showed 8 years of mother tongue with competent and qualified teachers teaching L2 and transition to English in the 9th year of school could achieve positive results. Learners achieved high scores in English language and other areas of the curriculum.

- Additive bilingual education Model, where mother tongue for at least 6-8 years (grades), with English taught by expert teachers. This model was experimented, tested and confirmed by the “Ife Primary Education Project” in Nigeria (Bangboṣe, 2000).
- And dual instruction in MT and English from 8-12 years.

Bilingualism, as evidenced, has major advantages that the learner accrues in terms of communicative, intellectual, psychological and social economic benefits. Evidence however, also shows as discussed throughout the chapter that these advantages accrue only if important conditions are fulfilled. It is also observed that attaining these conditions is not an easy endeavour and requires informed research that is abreast with the current situations as well as consideration of the context in which the implementation is to occur. There needs to be a focus tailored to all target stakeholders with constant consultations that are bottom up driven. In the end, evidence shows that Africa’s most appropriate approaches are through application of additive models in the implementation of language education policies.

Implementation theory development (language policy and planning)

Research is increasingly recognising multilingualism as a resource rather than a hindrance in policy, planning and implementation of language policies. The successful delivery of services in multicultural settings, therefore, warrants both effective planning of policies and implementation. According to Walshaw and Anthony (2007), implementation practice, studies and research have tended to drift away from rational choice theories, (DeLeon, 1999), to ecology theories. These ecological theories are nested in an evolving systems’ network mutually constituted in the process of interaction. While the rational choice approaches see the policy planner and implementer as a “rational Man”, doing as directed and maximising the outcomes of policy intentions while following a linear process. The

ecological approaches look at the outcomes as influenced by implementers' interpretations and act on policy in an ecological niche (Creese & Martin, 2003; McLaughlin, 1987).

Walshaw and Anthony (2007) however emphasised that these implementation initiatives demand major shifts in teachers' thinking and practice that are in line with policy intent. These in a sense could be very challenging to the teachers since they demand different methodologies and mindset that may cause dilemmas and challenges in the implementation (August, 2010). The study guided by an ecological framework investigates teachers' interpretations, views and attitudes in an ecological niche and how these guide and influence their practice during implementation. This means that policy is interpreted and adopted differently. The effective implementation can therefore be relative with outcomes of not what policy makers want, but what the need of policy is when put into practice. The aspect of variability is transformed from being seen as a sign of uneven response to policy directive as a problem, to perceiving it as a positive aspect embracing shaping of policy that suits the local social needs (McLaughlin, 1990). It advocates for implementation of policy per se, as it is conceived (Schofield, 2001). Knowledge attained from the implementers, as a result of their interpretations and adoption of policy messages and experience, can then be fed back to inform the policy design. This means that the process of policy formulation is not independent of implementation but rather intertwined and synergetic for successful policy implementation to occur.

According to the theory, teachers, as implementers do not have complete freedom from the mandates of the government (policy makers) and therefore all their actions need to fall in the borders of the central policy (DeLeon, 1999). This calls for the policy makers to extend the policy politics to the implementation level, through negotiation, to fully address the policy needs of the recipients which the policy is intended (DeLeon, 1999). Otherwise if such a gap is not closed to include all stakeholders in influencing planning such as

implementers, recipients and communities it could account highly for the lack of success of such programmes (Jones, 2012). This approach goes beyond understanding the ways implementers understand the message and how they interpret it to how their understanding influences their change in perception of their own practice. It views policy messages not being static ideas but interpreted relatively in varying contexts and involving multiple actors.

From the above discussion, it can be determined that overall, policy implementation is an integral part of policy formulation and not just an add-on component. The approach incorporates the competing dualities of both top-down and down-up taxonomies. Goggin, Bowman, Lester, and O'Toole (1990) identified this to arise from third generation studies while Sabatier (1998) explained it by the 'advocacy coalition framework theory' built on the premise of political learning. That learning occurs when there is a change in behaviour intentions because of implementers' experiences in impacting on or redirecting policy goals.

According to DeLeon (1999) however, the two approaches are very different from each other, have different assumptions and have opposing views on the direction of policy implementation and cannot be a rational approach for better implementation. Heugh, Benson, Bogale, and Yohannes (2007) down play such criticism advancing that clear guidelines and regulations need to be in place alongside policy during formulation to include the possible stakeholders or players, timeframes, budget, monitoring and evaluation components. There is a need to plan the implementation process with well-tailored methodologies informed by research to generate the necessary information for adequate implementation. It should include the interests of all stakeholders and be seen as a process of mediating within the various competing interests with varying and unknown results. The two aspects of policy should share a symbiotic relationship through policy revisions, modifications and rectifications informed by the process of implementation through a down-up consultative approach.

Pressure from the above to focus attention on reform objective should also be balanced with support to facilitate implementation (McLaughlin, 1987).

In conclusion therefore ecological approaches seem to embrace the top-down and bottom-up implementation designs and yet going further to understand behavioural changes resulting from implementers' interpretations of the policy and how they influence practice (Jones, 2012). This implies inclusion of implementation as a process in the policy political process to suit the realities in the classroom. On the other hand, understanding such behavioural changes may help in aiding implementers with appropriate methodologies of transitioning from one mindset to another demanded by the current emerging orientations and trends in language-in-education.

The next section explores Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory of human development in deriving a framework for the study.

Deriving a Conceptual Framework for the Study

This study derived its conceptual framework from Bronfenbrenner (1994) ecological systems theory of human development. Bronfenbrenner's (1994) ecological systems theory proposes that in order to understand human development the entire ecological system has to be considered in which growth occurs. Bronfenbrenner (1994) earlier model advanced an environmental context that supported and guided human growth through agents, levels and processes. This ecological environment was first situated in four social sub-systems, the micro-systems, meso-systems, exo-systems, macro-systems.

The tenets of the theory are;

- 1- The person is an active player exerting influence on the environment
- 2-The environment is exerting influence on the individual hence compelling the individual to adapt to its conditions and restrictions and

3- It is nestled and in reciprocal relations (Härkönen, 2007).

In the 1990s emerged the second stage (1990s-2005) of his evolving model from his original ecological theory to include processes of human development (Bronfenbrenner & Morris (2006). Some aspects of the individual he considered had been under looked in his original ecological theory. It is also from this time that he began to discuss the Process-person-context-time model. Introducing also the fifth subsystem that entailed a time component (Chrono-system), consequently evolving to what came to be the bio ecological systems theory (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006; Bronfenbrenner, 1994).

He builds the theory on two prepositions:

1. That human development takes place through processes of progressive complex reciprocal interactions between person, persons, objects, groups, sub-systems in its immediate environment. He identifies these interactions through proximal processes with immediate environment.
2. The second preposition is that form, power, content and direction of the proximal processes affecting development vary systematically as a joint function of the developing person, environment and nature of development outcomes under consideration.

The pillar of the bio-ecological model therefore is founded on the process-person-context-time model (PPCT).

1. Process-Bronfenbrenner & Morris (2006); Bronfenbrenner (1994) view proximal processes (primary mechanisms) as pivotal for human development as a result of systematic reciprocal interactions between the individual and persons, objects and symbols in the environment that occur regularly and over extended periods. Tudge, Mokrova, Hatfield, & Karnik, (2009) advance that by the individual engaging in these activities and interactions he/she makes sense of his/her world. Bronfenbrenner

however asserts that these processes function differently between individuals and context (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006; Tudge, Mokrova, Hatfield, & Karnik, 2009).

2. Person-the theory distinguishes three personal characteristics that influence and affect the power and direction of proximal processes ie *force* characteristics also referred, as *Dispositions* are to do with temperament, motivation and persistence like two individuals having equal resource characteristics but with divergent development trajectories. *Bio ecological resources* which entail individual abilities, skills, knowledge, access to educational opportunities, food and other social and material resources. Finally the *demand characteristics* that encourage or discourage reactions from the social environment that impact on the direction of proximal processes. For example age, gender, beliefs (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006; Tudge, Mokrova, Hatfield, & Karnik, 2009).
3. Context-looks at the five interconnected subsystems. Micro-, meso-, exo-, macro- and chrono-systems. For purposes of this study, the context will utilise the micro, meso and macro subsystems.
4. Time- Micro-time refers to what is happening during specific episodes of proximal processes. Meso-time refers to the extent to which the processes occur in the person's environment, such as over the course of days, weeks or years. Macro-time (or the chronosystem) focuses on the shifting expectancies in wider culture.

Härkönen (2007) advances that the ecological systems theory also suits description of human socialisation, allows a better understanding of education and the problems within

education. For purposes of this research, the bio-ecological model was utilised and found relevant for the study. Bronfenbrenner (1994) theory; process-person-context-time model (PPCT) is used as the overarching organisers for presentation of findings section. The limitation however is that the time component was not found relevant to this study since it was not a longitudinal study. Hence, due to constraints of research design time was not measured.

Based on the PPCT framework, the researcher proposed a tentative exploratory framework of factors impacting on the teachers' implementation of language policy in rural schools guided by the processes domain, person domain and a set of nested structures moving from the innermost level to the outer level (context/ environment domain). The levels embedded in the context (C) domain only signify the proximity of each level to the teacher. The tentative exploratory framework (PPC) pivots on Bronfenbrenner's principle that the teacher as an implementer is operating in an ecological system and therefore interprets and makes sense of the policy messages impacted upon by and within this ecological system. Since the study is focusing on the teacher as the major implementer of language policy, Jones & Barkhuizen (2011) asserted that the teachers' role in interpreting the policy at the school level can lead to success or failure of the policy. The study investigates the realities in the implementation of mother tongue language policy in the rural classrooms through teachers' lenses. Figure 7 shows the implementing teacher influencing and being influenced by diverse forces in an ecological system.

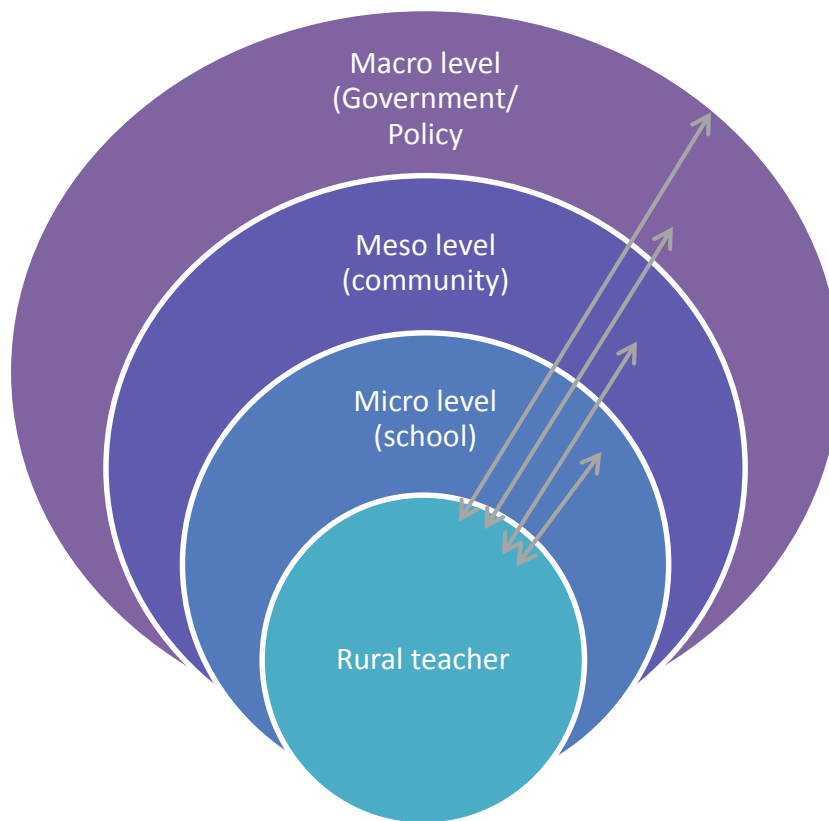


Figure 7. An exploratory framework to guide the study on understanding the factors impacting upon teachers in the implementation of mother tongue policy

This study therefore draws from Bronfenbrenner's bio ecological systems theory to derive a tentative exploratory framework by identifying aspects that are relevant in understanding the study (PPC). The study looks at the implementation process of the mother tongue through the processes-person-context tentative framework in understanding and interpreting teachers' attitudes and practices in the implementation process.

Proximal Processes

These are the primary mechanisms that impact or influence human development as a result of systematic reciprocal interactions between the individual and persons, objects and

symbols in the environment. In this study proximal processes will mean the immediate processes that influence the implementing teachers' interaction with persons, objects and symbols in the environment. These processes include access to relevant instruction resources, demographic livelihood processes in the area, quality of refresher courses/ skills development provision, children school feeding processes, teacher-student relations and manpower/teacher conditions.

Person domain (rural teacher)

In this study, the individual (Person domain) level comprises of Bronfenbrenner's three person characteristics of forces, demand and resource. Carless (2005); Clarke and Hollingsworth (2002) use the personal domain as one major level where the knowledge and beliefs of teachers are fundamental factors that influence the implementation process. They both assert that teacher understanding and interpretation of the implementation initiatives are influenced by the teacher knowledge, beliefs, skills, experience attitudes and demographic factors like age. In this study the person domain will represent the implementing rural teacher.

Demand characteristics

Demand characteristics encourage or discourage reactions from the social environment that impact on the direction of proximal processes, for example age, gender, beliefs (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006; Tudge, Mokrova, Hatfield, & Karnik, 2009). That is to say, the teacher makes sense of the policy messages influenced by his/her attitudes, gender, age and beliefs that are fundamental in the implementation process. These demand factors permit or discourage implementation.

Resource characteristics

The teachers' efforts in implementing the language policy will be influenced by their knowledge and practices and how these are compliant or noncompliant to the demands of the principles and practices of the language policy to be implemented. Based on the cognitive framework, teachers interpret and understand policy messages through cognitive processes. Spillane, Reiser, and Reimer (2002), acknowledge that policy makers are not always right, and that implementers can rightly reject or revise the policy during implementation, if they visualise it as harmful or unworkable. However, the proper interpretation of the intended messages occurs through understanding the policies and what the directives are asking the teacher to do, which requires cognitive processes of interpretation.

Professional and educational experiences also influence the attitudes of teachers on implementation. For example, according to Ejie (2004) study, experiences of the school system affected their implementation in that teachers who were educated in English from their primary school days tended to shun the mother tongue approach and settle for English.

Force characteristics

These personal characteristics are to do with temperament, motivation and persistence. For example, two individuals having equal resource characteristics but with divergent developmental trajectories. For example teachers motivated by their school administration to implement MT instruction will have a positive incline to the MT compared to the teachers whose administration is not supportive of the MT language policy in their school (Clarke & Hollingsworth, 2002; Walshaw and Anthony, 2007). Hence personality of an individual influences the individual's implementation of the programme.

Context (Ecological Environment)

The ecological environment looks at the five interconnected subsystems. Micro-, meso-, exo-, macro-and chrono-systems. For purposes of this research however, the subsystems of micro, meso and macro were utilised to understand the ecological environment/context of the implementing teacher.

Micro level

At the micro level, focus is on the school as a sub-system. The micro-system is the most inner layer of Bronfenbrenner's model. That is, it is the immediate environment to the individual involving direct interpersonal relations within the immediate environment. It includes people or groups like the school, teachers, principal, peers, and family. At the micro level, Carless (2005) also looks at the local school forces influencing the teachers' implementation of policy in terms of the influence of the school culture, classroom conditions, textbooks and other teaching materials in mother tongue and degree of support for implementing teachers (August, 2010; Franken & August 2011). These factors can influence greatly the teachers' attitudes in the implementation process. For example, a study by Ejie (2004), found that teachers with learners of different ethnic groups were hesitant to implement the mother tongue policy as compared to those with a common ethnicity.

Walshaw and Anthony (2007) highlight studies in the United Kingdom which attested that in situations where the school-widely embrace and took on the systematic change to implement the policy, showed that it facilitates teachers change of instructional practice aligned to policy. A similar study on professional development by Hollingsworth (2002) showed that a supportive school context in terms of staff support, resources and equipment in the classroom and school culture impacted positively on the teachers compared to school contexts with absence of such conditions (Clarke & Hollingsworth, 2002).

Meso level

The meso level contains linkage with other sub-systems containing the implementing teacher. For instance, the interactions between the community and the school influence the teachers' implementation of the policy. In situations of increased community involvement in school especially in support of a mother tongue policy, teachers are more likely to have positive disposition for the implementation of the mother tongue policy. Parents' views and attitudes also influence greatly the views and attitudes of teachers towards policy implementation at this level. Parents and communities will influence the teachers' perceptions, interpretations, and actions on policy implementation. The study carried out by Ejieh (2004) reveals that parents are pressured into pushing for their children to access education through English as early as possible due to its value in the job market and as a result the teachers strive to meet these parental expectations.

The degree of external support from academics, teacher educators, researchers and non-governmental organisations at this level will also greatly influence the attitudes of teachers in the way they will respond to the implementation of the language policy in the classroom. In situations where appropriate support is available through research, provision of guidelines and rights and responsibilities, as well as sensitisation projects and workshops. The teachers are more likely to respond positively to the implementation since they have confidence in what they are executing compared to situations that lack these conditions.

Macro level

At the macro level, the wider reform climate, the impact of relevant government agencies, examination boards, curriculum authorities among others greatly influences the attitudes and views of teachers in the way they implement the language policy in school. The

macro level majorly is a result of government functions that may promote or impact negatively on the way teachers implement the policy. For example, in the Ugandan situation some teachers have tended to resist the implementation of mother tongue language policy because the national examinations administered at the end of primary school are in English (Altinyelken, 2010a). They feel that emphasis on the local languages would stifle or disadvantage the rural children compared to the urban children using English throughout school.

In situations where governmental organisations are instrumental in particular areas, such areas are likely to be more proactive compared to areas without such organisations. The general wider climate in the way government is handling the policy implementation also affects the way teachers will implement the policy. In situations where government is effectively involved and has the will for implementing the policy, the impact on the teachers is likely to promote their positive participation on implementation compared to situations where there is reluctance and lack of government will in supporting the implementation of language policy.

This study unlike other studies carried out in the similar field in Uganda that have focused on language, literacy and the curriculum (Altinyelken, 2010a Altinyelken, 2010b; Altinyelken, 2013 ; Kirunda 2005; Kwesiga, 1994; Namuchwa, 2007) among others, this study circumnavigated on the impact of the policy on the implementing rural teacher (P1-P4) in an ecological environment. It also captures the different terrains of schools (the well to do, ill-resourced, privately supported and government supported schools putting each in perspective in relation to the implementation process. It also identifies the potential difficulties of changing from mother tongue medium to English. The study captures MT implementing teachers in two juxtaposed districts that illuminate characteristics of most districts in Uganda. Hence exhibiting a Ugandan linguistic landscape between and within

each district and how it is impacting on the implementation of the language policy in education. This study therefore goes deeper to task and unearth the applicability and relevance of MT implementation as a general rule in rural areas.

In conclusion, the chapter explored a body of literature in the field of language and education with particular reference to African languages and education. Language policy development, theories and implications of particular policies were considered. A general debate/discourse on policy, language planning, literacy in a multicultural society, was also explored as well as and what current research shows on the potential appropriate models for a multilingual context. Finally issues on implementation and a conceptual framework guiding the study are discussed. The subsequent chapter explores the methodology and methods that were utilised in the study.

CHAPTER 4

Methodology

Introduction

In the previous chapter, the literature on mother tongue as a medium of instruction in education and relevant theories guiding the study were considered. This chapter explains the methodology and methods that were utilised in the study. The study was carried out in Kayunga and Mpigi Districts in Uganda through qualitative research using a case study methodology to guide the study. The social constructivist paradigm in line with the theoretical underpinnings discussed in Chapter 3 justified the methodology of the study. In this chapter the methodological underpinnings of the research are explained, including the epistemological and ontological assumptions, and the research methods used to operationalize the study are presented.

Qualitative approach to the study

The research study was carried out using a qualitative research design as a field of inquiry because the study aimed to understand teachers' beliefs, experiences, attitudes, views and perceptions on the implementation of mother tongue language policy in the rural primary classrooms of Uganda. Walter (2006) asserted that qualitative research is involved with understandings and meanings that people attach to their social world, implying that these meanings are social constructs which lead different people to attach varied meanings to a particular phenomenon because they construe a range of realities about the situation of interest. Qualitative research is therefore strategically conducted, flexible, involves interactions, interpretations, and experiences in a specified context (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Gergen & Gergen (2000); Mason, 2002). Qualitative research, however, has been criticised

by empiricists for lacking scientific rigour, being an embodiment of accounts of personal impressions, highly affected by researcher bias, not reproducible and lacking generalizability (Patton & Appelbaum, 2003). These issues will be discussed in the following sections of this chapter. The next section highlights the philosophy underpinning this study.

Philosophical Assumptions

Maxwell (2012) indicated that it is important to determine a paradigm stance at the start of a study, on which the research will draw to guide and justify the research design decisions. Mackenzie & Knipe (2006) asserted further that without identifying a paradigm as the first step there cannot be a basis for making choices regarding methodology, methods, research design, and literature. This implies that the research aspects of the conceptual framework, literature, research questions, methods for data collection and analysis should be compatible with the philosophical stance taken by the researcher.

According to Guba & Lincoln (1994) a paradigm is what we think of the world, a set of basic beliefs that deals with ultimates or basic principles. Guba & Lincoln(1994) further advance that a paradigm represents a world view that defines, for its holder, the nature of the world, the individual's place in it, and a range of possible relationships to that world and its parts. This study was guided by a social constructivist/ interpretivist paradigm to capture participants' views of the situation being studied. Merriam (2002) argued that such a paradigm is employed in qualitative research to understand people's interpretations about a phenomenon since they are subjective and changing over time and space. Kim (2001) identified social constructivism as based on specific assumptions about reality, knowledge and learning. That reality is socially constructed through human activity and as such meaning is created through such interactions with others and the environment around them. As a consequence learning takes place as a social process. The study utilises the paradigm to view

how the teachers through their interactions and experiences with others and the environment construe, understand and derive meaning differently about the rationale, use and purpose of mother tongue implementation. These interpretations, derived understandings, impact greatly on their roles and degree of involvement in the implementation process.

The approach fitted within the ontological and epistemological stance taken to decide the topic, research questions, theoretical framework and approaches to the study. The ontological stance taken was that that reality is a social construct and therefore these social constructs were approached through understanding the teachers' interpretations of meanings guided by Bronfenbrenner's (1994) ecological theory of human development discussed in the previous chapter. Bronfenbrenner and Morris (2006) in this model defined development as "a phenomenon of continuity and change in the bio psychological characteristics of human beings both as individuals and groups" (p. 795). In the exploratory framework guided by Bronfenbrenner's theory of human development explained in the previous chapter, The operational meaning of development in this study implied a phenomenon of continuity and change in the teachers' conceptual understandings, interpretations and actions resulting from the interactions with persons, objects and symbols in the environment in their efforts to implement the mother tongue language policy. The implementing teachers were situated in a set of nested structures moving from the innermost level to the outer level. That is from the teachers' immediate environment through to Government policy and directives.

Based on Bronfenbrenner's (1994) Process-Person-Context-Time (PPCT) model, the Process-Person-Context (PPC) domains were utilised in organising the data collected. The time (T) component in the PPCT model was not found relevant to this study because it was not a longitudinal study. Hence, time was not measured.

Proximal processes (P), signified the primary mechanisms in the immediate environment to the teacher that influenced teachers' implementation of the language policy as

a result of the systematic reciprocal relations between the teacher and the persons, objects and symbols in the environment. An example is the influence of schools buying English printed exams from external organisations, the nature of teacher posting processes to particular areas, learner absenteeism factors, hunger among learners and the nature and degree of engagement through skills development for implementing teachers.

The Person (P), explored the personal teacher characteristics that influenced and affected the power and direction of how reality is constructed, meanings interpreted through a learning process, and the impact of such interpretations on the implementation process.

According to Jones and Barkhuizen (2011), the teachers' role in interpreting policy at the school level can lead to success or failure of the policy. In the classroom therefore the teacher promoted or curtailed the implementation of the policy as a result of personal interpretations, experiences and actions. Such factors are based on the teachers' social, cultural, family, education, professional and economic backgrounds among other determinants. For example, according to Ejieh (2004) experiences of the school system affected teacher implementation in that teachers who were educated in English from their primary school days tended to shun the mother tongue approach and settle for English.

The Context or ecological environment (C), provided a set of nested structures moving from the innermost level (individual context) to the outer level (environmental context) in relation to the proximity of each level to the implementing teacher. The 3 categories derived from Bronfenbrenner's (1994) theory; Micro-, Meso-, and Macro-subsystems or context levels were used as the overarching organisers for both the data collection, and for understanding and interpreting teachers' attitudes and practices in the implementation process. Each level exhibited forces influencing the teachers' implementation of policy like the school culture, classroom conditions, views of parents, and the degree of external support from academics, as well as the impact of the relevant government agencies,

examination boards, and curriculum authorities among others. For example a study on professional development showed that a supportive school context in terms of staff support, resources and equipment in the classroom and school culture impacted positively on the teachers compared to school contexts where such conditions were absent (Clarke & Hollingsworth, 2002).

Ontological assumption

Social constructivism considers reality, what is sought as knowledge, as socially constructed. Teachers' interpretation of the implementation process varied among teachers influenced by context in terms of space and time. Hence reality is perceived not as a single truth but multiple truths about any specified phenomenon. That different meanings were attributed to the phenomenon was assumed about the ways in which the teachers interpreted the implementation process within their social contexts. In seeking to understand teachers' attitudes and views on the implementation of the language policy words of participants were used in quotes and themes to express their different viewpoints about the policy.

Axiological assumptions

The ways in which the researcher's individual values affect how the research is carried out and what the researcher values in the results of the research are termed as axiological assumptions (Flowers, 2009). The researcher's values were paramount in the way the researcher interacted with the participants to carry out the responsibilities and obligations in the study. These values were influenced among other factors by cultural, social, and political issues. The researcher aimed to keep his personal perspectives in mind throughout the conduct of the study, from conception to the final report (Dowling, 2000).

Case Study research method

The policy of mother tongue as a medium of instruction applies to the lower levels of primary school (P1-P3) in rural Uganda. The higher levels of primary school (P4-P8) in rural areas use English as a medium of instruction, and urban area primary schools used the English medium of instruction throughout primary school. A case study approach was used in this study because of its capacity to provide a rich detailed understanding of the phenomenon, in this instance the implementation of the mother-tongue policy. Patton and Appelbaum (2003) defined case study as an “empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within real life context where the boundaries between the phenomenon and context are not clearly evident [and] combining multiple sources of data collection techniques” (p. 60). Case studies contribute uniquely to knowledge of individual, organisational, social and political phenomena (Patton & Appelbaum, 2003). A number of researchers (Bryman & Teevan, 2004; Gary, 2009; Mackey & Gass, 2005) asserted that there are particular circumstances that make a case of special interest and therefore provide some intrinsic interest to a researcher.

Research Site

Stake (1995) highlighted that identifying the case was a very important part in case study research. The study was situated in a rural setting in two districts in the central region of Uganda. The two districts, Mpigi and Kayunga (Appendix 6), were identified because they were conveniently accessible but also had characteristics that made the sites of interest appropriate to the study.

Mpigi and Kayunga were used to look critically at the process of implementation in a restricted sample (Thomas, 2009). The intention was not to generalise to the rest of Uganda,

which has more than 100 districts, but to have an in-depth explanation of the case with a possibility of deriving broader conclusions (Patton & Appelbaum, 2003). As affirmed by Maxwell (2008) in case study research, small samples that consider a phenomenon in depth can illuminate a variety of situations that may be found elsewhere. Stake (1995) also argued in a similar fashion that to find out how an individual case works, examination of single specimens is necessary. This detailed examination is used as the primary method to understand extensively and intensively about the case. Some significant features may be reflected in other districts (or cases) providing pointers for further exploration.

Uganda has over 112 districts see (Chapter 2, figure 3) a substantial number of which were created in decade preceding the study. Most of the districts harbour multilingual communities but a few were relatively monolingual. It was therefore rare, but not impossible, to find a person speaking only one language. The choice of the two Districts therefore depended on this multi- and monolingual dichotomy. The two districts were identified through convenience sampling, based on ease of access (Patton, 1990). The rationale was to save time, money and effort. Patton however cautioned that this should not be the overriding goal because it can lead to poor information cases. The two areas chosen are in reasonable proximity to the capital and each other. Other regions like Northern and Eastern Uganda that required more resources especially in terms of transport and other logistics that were not readily available for this study were thus not considered. More importantly, the two areas also captured the particular circumstances that made the cases of special interest and therefore provided intrinsic interest (Bryman & Teevan, 2004; Thomas, 2009; Mackey & Gass, 2005).

Case 1-Mpigi District

Mpigi was identified as a case of interest because it is a district neighbouring the capital, Kampala, located in the central part of Uganda. The area is considered peri-urban and

therefore was able to bring out the complexities of the implementation of language policy in relation to finding out what determines the use of a particular language for instruction because some parts of it are neither rural nor urban. According to the District Education Officer the whole of the District was designated as rural for the effective implementation of the policy, implying that as a district the medium of instruction in early years of school was specifically tailored to mother tongue policy designated for rural areas. Mpigi district had a total population of 251,512 people, out of which 207,238 comprised the rural population (UBoS, 2014). The district covered about 3,714.9 square km, about 16% of Uganda. The district headquarters was about 35kms from Kampala and there were a total of 300 primary schools including 110 government aided primary schools and 190 private primary schools. The schools ranged from those considered ‘worse off’ or ill-resourced to ‘better’ or relatively well-resourced schools. The choice of this district was made to capture this variety and how it influenced and impacted on the implementation of the mother tongue language policy. It was also largely monolingual. The majority of the population were Luganda native speakers though a few other communities used Luganda as a second language as a result of migrations, resettlement and intermarriages.

Case 2- Kayunga District

Kayunga district was chosen to give a contrast to the first district because of its multilingual nature since it was found to be one of the country’s most multilingual and multi ethnic districts containing almost all the tribes of Uganda and beyond. It included Baganda (natives), Basoga, Bagisu, Baruli, Ateso, Jopadhola, Kuku, Bagwere, Banyole, Banyala and a non-Ugandan population (refugees) of about 5% of the district population. The non-nationals included; Tanzanians, Burundians, South Sudanese and Rwandese. Kayunga is located 74 km from Kampala and had a total population of 370,210 people, out of which 343,622 comprised

the rural population (UBoS, 2014). The district had 167 government aided primary schools and 89 private primary schools. It is considered a rural district though also located in the Buganda central region. The two districts therefore were explored to identify the nature of the Ugandan linguistic landscape and to try to explore the general scenario of the language situation between and within each district and how it is impacting on the implementation of the language policy in education.

Identification of schools

Three schools were purposively sampled in each district. A sampling technique where units were deliberately selected to reflect particular features of a sampled group, based on the characteristics of the population (Ritchie, Lewis, Nicholls, & Ormston, 2013). Ritchie et al., argued that it is these features and characteristics such as roles, social demographic and specific experiences among others that enable a detailed exploration and understanding of the central themes and issues the researcher wishes to study.

Two government aided schools were included in each district; one school from a lower socio-economic and ill-resourced setting, and another from a relatively higher socio-economic and well-resourced setting to juxtapose the implementation of the language policy in the two settings. In addition a private school was included in each district to capture how the policy directives to mother tongue implementation were viewed, received and acted upon by private schools and government aided schools. The contrast was intended to unearth how such views and actions impacted on the teachers in the different school jurisdictions to influence the implementation process.

As indicated in Chapter 2, most schools in Uganda received some government support (public schools) but the major difference in the status of schools is the amount of support received from alternative sources like parents through Parents teachers associations, donors,

and religious institutions to which they are affiliated. Government schools that relied on Government support with limited alternative support were far less affluent than the private schools and government aided schools that had alternative sources of support. These differences were captured among the two Government aided schools to compare the implementation process in the two schools. Figures 8 and 9 show the conditions in the two Government aided rural schools. The fig. 8 shows a library and a classroom under a mango tree in an ill-resourced government school. Fig. 9 on the other hand shows the classroom structure and classroom conditions in a slightly well-resourced government school in the same district.



Figure 8. An ill-resourced Government aided rural school

Note. Picture 1=School library, Picture 2=class under a mango tree



Figure 9. A relatively well resourced Government rural school

Note. Picture1=Classroom block, Picture 2=Classroom

The schools were identified in the two district areas through snowball sampling. Ritchie et al., (2013) identified snow ball sampling as an approach involving asking people who have already been interviewed to identify other people they know who fit the selection criteria. Snowball sampling aligned well with dispersed and small populations, and with specific characteristics as the key criteria for selection.

The first school in each district was identified by a District School Inspector due to their supervision role with education matters at district level. The District Administration Office was the first contact for entry in the District and facilitated the gatekeeping process for access to schools. The head teacher of the first school was asked to refer or provide a recommendation about the second school. Similarly, the head teacher of the second school referred the third school, and so on until the desired sample was achieved. The head teachers were identified as resourceful because they were more knowledgeable about local schools and the context in which the schools were placed. Each school was given an identity code for purposes of confidentiality as illustrated in Table 3 below:

Table 3. The 6 categories of schools with identifiers

| No of Schools Mpigi District | ID codes | School Types | No of Students | No of Staff |
|---------------------------------|----------|--------------|----------------|-------------|
| 1 | Ya1 | Government | 1768 | 48 |
| 2 | Yb1 | Private | 500 | 14 |
| 3 | Ya2 | Government | 302 | 6 |
| Kayunga District | | | | |
| 1 | Za1 | Government | 529 | 13 |
| 2 | Zb1 | Private | 530 | 15 |
| 3 | Za2 | Government | 149 | 10 |

Identification of participants within schools

Key informants were selected by identifying those who were knowledgeable in the area of mother tongue in education and directly involved in the implementation process.

Three teachers in each school were purposively sampled to provide different types of information. The participants in each school were a mother tongue/area language teacher at P1-P3 level, a teacher implementing the policy but not a mother tongue/area language teacher (transition class teacher), and the principal or head teacher. Patton (1990) argued that the power of purposeful sampling lay with selecting information rich cases whose study could illuminate the questions under study. Therefore the three cases [Mother tongue teacher, Transition class teacher and head teacher] were purposively sampled as critical cases.

The mother tongue/area language teacher was chosen as being the direct implementer of the policy in the study. The second participant was a teacher implementing the policy but not as a mother tongue /area language teacher. This teacher was chosen to provide a different and varied opinion about the policy and implementation of mother tongue/area language as compared to the mother tongue teacher. From P4 upwards the medium of instruction transitions to English, so the second teacher in the study was teaching the pupils transitioning from mother tongue. The purpose was to identify the potential difficulties of changing from

mother tongue medium to being taught in English. The views of the transition teachers were therefore important because they were working within the policy. The third participant was the principal or head teacher in each school who was expected to be informed about the major issues underlying the policy implementation. This key individual was the person who ensures that the Ministry of Education programmes are effected at the school level.

The study had a total of 27 participants: 18 from the six sampled schools in the two districts that were visited for this study as explained above. In addition 9 education officials working outside the school jurisdiction but at a district level were included, these Officers included

- 2 District Education Officers (DEOs). A district education officer was interviewed from each district. DEOs are key education officers at the district in directing education issues, teachers' salaries, school supplies and communication to and from Ministry of Education and sports headquarters.
- 2 District Inspectors of Schools (DIS). A district inspector of schools was interviewed from each district. DISs are education officers at the district tasked with inspection, supervision and auditing of schools in the district.
- 2 Centre Coordinating Tutors (CCTs). A centre coordinating tutor was interviewed from each district. CCTs are teachers that tutor teachers, provide support, train and guide teachers at the district level in the implementation of government educational programmes.

In addition a curriculum development specialist from the National Curriculum Centre and two language specialists (LS) from Makerere University Institute of Languages were interviewed. These specialists were included to ascertain the current status of non-dominant languages beyond the district level in terms of their roles and impact at National, and

University level. In particular how these languages have impacted on developments in supporting the implementation of the mother tongue language policy at the primary level.

By having these varied people in every school in each of the two districts, at district level, and beyond the district level provided a wide range of data that allowed for corroboration and convergence of results from the different sources between the districts, schools and the categories of teachers involved without becoming unmanageable.

Table 4 shows the participating teachers within the school setting and their background data:

Table 4. Participating teachers in school setting and their bio-data

| ID Codes | Gender | School Type | Age | Participant | Education | Experience | Language most competent in |
|----------|--------|-------------|-------|-------------|-----------|------------|----------------------------|
| MPIHT3 | F | P | 50-59 | H/ T | Diploma | 15 years | English |
| NHT3 | F | G | 50-59 | H/ T | Diploma | 31 years | MT |
| KateHT3 | M | G | 40-49 | H/T | Degree | 11 years | English |
| MCHT3 | F | P | 20-29 | H/T | Degree | 6 years | English |
| KP2 | M | G | 50-59 | Tr (P4) | Diploma | 20 years | MT |
| Kate2 | M | G | 30-39 | Tr (P4) | Diploma | 7 years | MT |
| MPT1 | F | P | 20-29 | Tr (P1-P4) | Cert | 2 years | English |
| KP1 | F | G | 30-39 | Tr (P1-P3) | Cert | 7 years | English |
| Kate1 | F | G | 30-39 | Tr (P1-P3) | Cert | 8 years | MT |
| Kate3 | M | G | 30-39 | Tr (P1-P3) | Diploma | 4 years | MT |
| Nam2 | M | G | 30-39 | Tr (P1-P3) | Diploma | 4 years | English |
| NamHT3 | M | G | 40-49 | H/T | Degree | 13 years | English |
| MCT1 | F | P | 30-39 | Tr (P1-P3) | Cert | 10 years | English |
| KPHT3 | F | G | 40-49 | H/T | Degree | 6 years | MT |
| MPIT2 | M | P | 20-29 | Tr (P4) | Degree | 3 years | MT |
| Nam1 | F | G | 40-49 | Tr (p1-P3) | Cert | 6 years | MT |
| NT1 | F | G | 50-59 | Tr (P1-P3) | Cert | 18 years | MT |
| NT2 | M | G | 30-39 | Tr (P4) | Diploma | 3 years | English |

Note.

H/T= Head Teacher, Tr (P4)=Transition class teacher, Tr (P1-P3)= MT teacher, G=Government

School, P=Private school, F=Female, M=Male, Cert=Certificate

Data collection techniques

In this section the data collection processes used in the study are described. These were semi-structured interviews, observations and document analysis.

Semi structured interviews

Semi-structured interviews were undertaken with all participants. May (2001) indicated that this method utilises techniques from both unstructured and structured methods and allows respondents to answer more on their own terms than those allowed in a structured interview. The light structure imposed by the semi-structured approach provided better comparability than completely open interviews. Thomas (2009) supported this approach, acknowledging that semi-structured interviews are the most common arrangements in most small scale research studies and that they do not restrict but rather provide room for a prolonged discussion.

Participating teachers were asked to participate in semi structured interviews with audio-recorded conversations. Each teacher participated in one formal interview which lasted about one hour. The interviews were all printed in English however in instances where clarifications were deemed necessary, translations were made during the interview. The interviews were recorded and transcribed with consideration of translations where necessary. The interview schedule is given in Appendix 9.

The teachers also engaged in informal conversations with the researcher to capture in detail any issues related to implementation. Informal conversations were operationally used in the study to mean conversations held between the researcher and participant in a non-formal setting out of the confines of the classroom. This research allowed for spontaneous generation of questions in the natural flow of an interaction emerging from observations in

the particular setting (Patton, 1990; Adler & Adler (1994). The data enlisted were later recorded as field notes.

Observations

Observations were used to determine the actual educational practices being carried out in classrooms in the different schools. Taking in mind that the study aimed to gain further insight in the way different teachers perceived and interpreted the implementation of mother tongue, in a situated context and how they related with others the researcher approached the situations to be observed with an open mind. The researcher built this stand on the premise that as discovery was made about the meaning of what was observed some categories would stand out (Simpson & Tuson, 2003). Guiding questions for the observations included; what does the setting of classrooms reveal? How about the tone, actions, activities and attitude in the mother tongue class? How comfortable are teachers when reading and writing in mother tongue? What resources are available to facilitate mother tongue instruction? What do learners' conversations in the playground reveal among others. Notes were taken in the form of a field notes with a view of generating categories from what was observed. Observations were selected to capture contextual relevance since what teachers advance in interviews is at times contrary to what they do in reality. Another aspect of importance was to capture the teaching approaches to mother tongue and the extent to which mother tongue is used outside in the classroom and in the playground. The researcher took field notes from the observations.

The researcher began by taking field notes that emerged or evolved into tentative categories, such as settings, events and sequence of events, behaviour, actions, activities, feelings, mood and expression as the study progressed. As the study progressed an

observation structure shown in Table 5 developed that was appropriate and relevant to the study's purpose:

Table 5. Observed categories that evolved from the field notes collected

| Classroom | Playground |
|-------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. Classroom setting | 1. Displays in the playground |
| 2. Classroom activities | 2. Language used in playground |
| 3. Classroom resources | 3. Rewards for MT |
| 4. Rewards for MT | |
| 5. Time allocated to MT | |

Some aspects were collected intentionally such as interactions in the classroom environment, visual aids and other instructional materials used, time allocations for English and the mother tongue subject classes, among others. The above categories were used in each school visited and classrooms observed. Each school was visited three times (3 days). For each day a similar structure was followed while carrying out observation. The data that were generated are described in Chapter 5 of the study.

Analysis of Documents

In order to examine the steps taken by the Ministry of Education to change the attitudes of stakeholders about the language policy data was collected through analysis of educational legislation and legislative regulations as well as in the newspapers. The legislative documents examined included The Government White Paper on the Education Policy Review Commission Report, Education for National Integration and Development 1992 (GoU, 1992). Other documents involved were Ministry of Education circulars such as

language policy (MOES circular No 3/05 of 10th January), Kiswahili (MOES circular No 4/05), Deployment of Teachers (MOES circular No 2/2005), Introduction of a New Thematic Curriculum in 2006 for P1 (MOES Circular No 2/05), and newspaper articles. The legislative documents above provided a significant niche that forms a framework within which teachers work. They therefore had a judicial special status because they emphasize the social mandate and intentions/goals of the education sector. The Newspapers on the other hand reflected the practices, opinions/views by various voices in media on education and language policy. It was believed the two approaches would clearly bring out the contradictions, realities and challenges between policy and the implementation of the mother tongue language policy. These documents were obtained from head teachers, the curriculum development centre (NCDC), and district education office. This technique was used to supplement and complement the major data collection technique, which was interviews.

The newspapers included the New Vision, Monitor and the Red Pepper for more data related to answer what the Ministry of Education has instituted to change the attitudes of stakeholders. This supplemented data collected from interviews.

Data Analysis

Data collected from the field through interviews was recorded using an audio recorder and consequently transcribed into English. Although the process of transcribing is time consuming, Riessman (1993) advised that it can be one way of becoming familiar with the data collected. The transcription of the data collected was therefore carried out by the researcher. Thematic analysis was used to analyse the data collected using NVivo 10.0 (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

When transcribing the data from the interviews some categories began to emerge (Green et al., 2007); such as expressed attitudes, pressures from stakeholders, resources,

multiplicity of languages, training, hindrances of the decentralisation system, lack of coordination among stakeholders, and poor supervision as well as policy complexities. The categories were further developed into four major themes of National language policies, Implementation planning and management, Attitudes towards multilingualism and Educational policies. The four themes were further organised into Bronfenbrenner's (1994) levels of processes, person and context (micro, meso, and macro levels). This organisation was done to effectively analyse the themes in relation to the teacher as an implementer operating in an ecological system and therefore interpreting and making sense of the policy messages impacted upon by levels within this ecological system. The themes overlapped each other in the different levels, for example the theme on attitudes appeared in micro (teachers), meso (stakeholders) and at macro (policy makers).

Validity, reliability (trustworthiness) and generalisation

Mason (2002) stated that qualitative research has to be systematic and rigorously conducted for it to be regarded as authentic and reliable (transferable and generalizable), and valid (truthful and trustworthy) and, therefore, accountable for its quality and claims. Qualitative research has been criticised for lacking scientific rigour, including accounts of personal impressions, being highly affected by researcher bias, not being reproducible and lacking generalizability (Mays & Pope, 1995). According to Creswell and Miller (2000), validity is defined as how accurately the account represents participants' realities of a social phenomenon and is credible to them. It was thus important to demonstrate that the research was credible. Validity was examined based on two standpoints: that of the researcher and that of participants. The researcher used different data collection techniques to enlist the information. This was done to capture information that may not have been captured by semi-structured interviews and to corroborate information of the interviews with that of

observations and documents to consequently yield rich dependable in-depth data needed for the study.

Throughout the process of data collection and analysis, the researcher constantly reflected on the role of background in terms of social, cultural, political and historical forces that might shape the interpretation and understanding of the participants' perceptions of implementation of the language policy (Dowling, 2000; Maxwell, 2012).

Reliability and generalisation

Ritchie et al., (2013) identified generalisation as a relative term that is usually linked to three but different concepts:

- Representational generalisation implies what is found in the research sample and can be held equally true of the parent population from which the sample is drawn.
- Inferential generalisation implies that findings from one study can be inferred in other settings or contexts beyond the sampled one.
- Theoretical generalisation is the developing of theoretical propositions, principles or statements from the findings of the study for more general application.

For purposes of this study, generalisation implied inferential generalisation. The findings of the study could therefore be inferred in similar setting.

Ethical Issues

The study complied with Australian National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (NHMRC 2007, updated 2014). The research was approved by the University of Tasmania Human Research Ethic Committee and the Human Research Ethics Committee of Tasmania (HREC Tas). All participation was voluntary. A copy of the approval letter is provided in Appendix 1. The study complied with the University procedures and was

conducted in accordance with chapter 4.2 of the National Statement and HREC ethics requirements of justice and respect for human beings.

Consent forms were developed for the head teacher, and the two teachers for the study (Appendix 3). A communication was also made to the parents in the local language of the children in the classes that were observed. The participants were presented with the relevant information and acceptance to participate was done through signing of the consent form (Appendix 2).

The communication and information sheets for the parents (Appendix 7) of the children to be observed were translated into the local languages of the areas. Local language was used to ease their understanding of the reasons for the study, the extent the observations were likely to impact on their children, and the likely benefits of the study on their children. A majority of parents in the rural areas do not use and understand English. The forms were disseminated in hard copy as information technology was poor or non-existent in these rural settings and it was inappropriate to use email for disseminating the forms.

Confidentiality is important in research and concealment of the participants and their schools was done to protect their identity. The schools were assigned codes while the participants were attached to false names (pseudonyms) in Tables 3 & 4. Sufficient information about the schools and teachers' perceptions and views was available while protecting the identities of the participants. The researcher explained to the participants in the information sheets (Appendix 4) how their identity would be concealed (Appendix 8), explained to them how the data would be stored during and after collection, who would have access to the data, the location of records and when the data is were likely to be destroyed.

Summary

The chapter explained the methodology and methods that were utilised in the study carried out in Uganda from February to May 2014. The next chapter will present the findings collected during this period in the rural districts of Kayunga and Mpigi in Uganda.

CHAPTER 5

Results

Introduction

This chapter presents the findings from the data collected in the two districts of Uganda from February 2014 to May 2014. The data, collected through audio recordings, field notes and photographs, were transcribed where appropriate and categorised into sub-themes and later themes of National Language Policies, Implementation Planning and Management, Attitudes towards Multilingualism, and Educational Policies. The themes emerged out of other categories or sub-themes during data analysis. In line with the conceptual framework explained earlier in chapter 3 and chapter 4, all the information relating to the research questions is presented from the perspective of Bronfenbrenner (1994) ecological model. The first level is that of proximal processes that impact and are impacted upon by the implementing teacher. The second level is that of the individual person, in this study the ‘individual person’ is the classroom implementing teacher. The final level is that of the individual’s ecological environment that embeds the micro, meso and macro sub-systems. It should be noted however that the different levels above affect and are affected or interact with each other hence an ecological niche.

Proximal Processes

The central assumption of Bronfenbrenner’s (1994) bioecological model is that human development takes place through processes within which reciprocal interactions occur between an active person and persons, objects and symbols in the person’s immediate environment (Bronfenbrenner & Morris (2006). Using this concept the study considered the

teacher as an active being influenced by proximal processes as a result of his/her interaction with persons, objects and symbols in the immediate external environment.

The teachers' implementation of the mother tongue policy was found to be impacted upon by some mediating processes in the teacher's immediate environment exerted by persons, symbols or objects. Processes like the dynamics in pedagogic processes, distance to school of learners and pupils, learner feeding practices and the livelihood of learners and their families were among the processes that impacted on teacher implementation from their immediate environment.

Teachers' actions in relation to the new mother tongue/ area language policy and the inferred consequences of such actions influenced teachers' continued support of or frustration with implementing the new policy in cognitive (reflective) and situational (contextual) terms. Those that found the new pedagogical methods workable and embraced the policy (KP2, NT1) were positively reflected in the outcome and output of learners, both cognitively or situationally. Those that were not able to adjust to the new methodologies and did not accrue positive impact in outputs or consequences in terms of relevant classroom or pupil outcomes were more inclined to abandon the implementation (KateHT3, NT2, and Kate3). For example in the extracts below KP2 and NT1 observe positive outcomes accruing from using MT:

KP2: And explanation even, because these children you can find them very free when you are teaching them these local language books. They come ask you "teacher what is the meaning of this word?" but when you teach them in English they don't, they just cram it. I get interested when I give them books I read for them then I tell them you can now read then they say "Master..eno sentence tetugitegedde, naye ekigambo kino nga kineene nyo?" we don't understand the meaning? Ok, this one means this...they try to

find out before they can get the whole meaning of the story but when you give them English they just read without comprehending what they are reading.

NT1: when you are teaching in mother tongue the learner understands because he/she knows it exactly. Even expressing himself is possible because he is using his language, he/she can reason and discuss compared to when using English.

Participants KateHT3, NT2 and Kate3 identify negative outcomes emanating from the use of MT:

KateHT3: Ok, what I have mastered there is a decline in performance reaching in P4 where there is a yard stick, those who started with local language reaching primary 7 they don't perform well like those who used to come with English from the grass root.

NT2: Number two is congestion in the classroom; children are too many you don't even have space to move around to guide. Number three, the books you need to help a child per child but they are many and the 40 mins is very little for the lesson so you find that guiding the children is a problem on individual basis, you start marking the books and you take an hour and yet there is another lesson in waiting so we teach little, we give them little work so that we cope up with time.

Kate3: why I am saying so, is because the methodology of this is not what people, actually employ. The would be good methods of this language policy is not what people are employing because after setting the policy teachers were not given the methods of employing this, so teachers are in their first methods which are completely different from what they would have employed to make this one move. So that's why I mean the achievement may not exceed 50%

The comments above show that teachers that found outcomes of their input into implementation futile were more likely to abandon such an endeavour.

The competing demands on children and participation in agriculture, domestic work and child care by family members made the effective implementation a challenge. Some of these aspects, like agriculture, are seasonal leading to irregular attendances among learners. Comments from teachers included:

KPHT3: parents have not helped their children they do not give them the requirements, some pupils do not regularly come to school but as a head teacher when you try to pressure the parents you turn to be bad. Some parents are hunters, so some children do not come to school but go hunting; others go and look after the rice fields, others when someone is sick, the child remains home to look after the siblings so policy itself is not bad.

The teachers also encountered challenges in implementation due to lack of food either by parents or school. As a result children's levels of concentrations were low due to hunger.

Teachers commented:

KPHT3: The children do not eat, all of them do not eat. We agree with the parents but when they leave they forget so we have only one child in P1 who takes porridge. Another thing there was a problem on this village of poisoning that makes your stomach expand after eating. So that's the reason parents give that they fear their children to eat at school but even then they do not pack food for them.

Nam1: Another issue is that we teachers and the learners teach and study on empty stomachs. For me I can bare to teach on an empty stomach but it is very difficult for these children. So it is hard to achieve academically on an empty stomach.

Teachers were concerned that the nutritional situation of some learners was a great hindrance to implementation as result of poor feeding processes at both home and at school impacting on their academic achievement and at times keeping them out of school.

Impact of decentralisation

The impact of decentralisation on head teachers' powers was identified by some participants to impact indirectly on teachers' implementation. One educator (CoT2) revealed that the decentralisation process had made it very difficult for the head teachers to effectively supervise their teachers by lessening head teachers' powers.

CoT2: ... Putting a head teacher here to supervise a teacher whom he does not pay, whom he does not control, whom he does not have powers over is a very big challenge. The only thing he can do to them is to report them to the district. But sometimes you report somebody who is more conversant with the district and he/she [head teacher] is harassed.

The participant implied that decentralisation had negatively impacted on school management by usurping the managerial roles of head teachers. For example one participant mentioned districts granting leave and transfers without head teacher consent. This had rendered head teachers powerless, consequently impacting negatively on supervision and therefore too on teacher implementation of the language policy.

Demand for quality

The demand by government on schools for quality in exams was also captured as a major challenge in teachers' execution of the programme. Data also revealed that government's push for the implementation of the new primary school curriculum and use of local languages as well as demand for quality performance in terms of the number of first class grades at P7

had led head teachers to frustration. Some head teachers had been demoted, suspended and at times warned for poor performances. This appeared to be used as a means of checking standards in schools country-wide in pursuit of better performance in the examination. In the New Vision paper (Ssenkaaba, 2012, February 09), it was reported that one head teacher from one of the primary schools in a head teacher's meeting in Hoima district, responding to the practices described remarked "We try to do our best but some of the problems leading to poor performance are not of our making."

Another teacher in one of the districts where the study was carried out also affirmed the plight of the head teachers:

KPHT3: At the end of the day somebody is saying you are a total failure. You registered 30 failures and somebody is complaining I would not have registered those failures if it were not for the local language issue.

As a result the head teachers, to cope with quality and avoid demotion, had resorted to using English. The teachers saw themselves put in a complex or precarious situation, even when they value mother tongue the school demands using English consequently impacting on teachers' implementation.

Pressure on numbers

The issue of local languages and quality demands by government in the examinations had consequently led schools and head teachers to disguise the numbers of aspiring candidates in a bid to exhibit improved or high performance standards. This had indirectly influenced the dropout and repetition rates. This was mainly evidenced at P6 as schools prepared for the P7 classes for the end of cycle primary leaving exam (PLE). Evidence from the observations and interviews revealed that at P6 about half of the learners were kept from progressing to P7.

This was contrary to Government policy that dictated automatic promotion of learners from grade to grade. As a result, there were large classroom numbers in P6 because of high repetition rates, with students who often become potential dropouts.

CoT2: I want to tell you something which people have never bothered about connected to school dropout you know when they look at P1 enrolment, they look at the same cohort in P7 there is a very big disparity but how does it come. It comes just from P6,..... In every school you go to in each particular year P6 has 130, 120...but P7, 20,30 at most 50 so they usually drop more than a half in all the schools in my centre at least and elsewhere it is worse. The reason is preparation for PLE, they will say these are not competent enough, they will bring failures and the school will be regarded as a non-performer. So they throw very many at P6 in every school you go to.

As a result school managers in some schools to avoid such situations, have opted back to English with a hope of increasing the number of students that qualify to sit for PLE; hence, impacting on the mother tongue implementation. Comments from one participant highlighted the impact of such pressure on schools:

CoT2: There are very many factors among them; Pressure from stakeholders-Like here we have been doing it [teaching through MT] but have just gone back to English this very year because the Bishop came and said no..no..no.... we want quality, it is not our issue to have quantity. So this business of having over 1000 pupils when they cannot perform is not a big deal to our school. You know the school belongs to faith based organisation. We began with English this time... this year.

The impact of government pressure for quality without providing the necessary support to facilitate schools boosting quality was evident in these remarks. This consequently has impacted on the implementation process.

Commercialisation of exams

The aspect of commercialisation of primary exams was also noted as a major challenge. The competition between schools, both government and private, as well as government's push for higher pass grades has resulted in commercialisation of examinations at earlier grades in preparation for the final exam. Some schools bought standard exams from P4 onwards either from the urban schools or other organisations to try to develop a standard commensurate to the primary leaving exam. In addition, all these commercial examination papers were printed in English regardless of context of schools.

DIS2: Private institutions have resorted to English throughout. We people from the rural areas have a tendency to say that they perform better so during assessment where we need to trace a learner's progress. That's where we lose track because schools go and buy the exams from different firms which exams are set in English. When these pupils are given these exams they perform differently. You may find that the results got, a teacher is frustrated and the learner is also frustrated. He/ [she] is exposed to a language he [she] is not conversant with, yet we are saying they are not all that slow learners or dull but because of the language they are using.

The teachers in this regard have been influenced by such competition and the role of English in examinations has negatively impacted on the implementation of the language policy. In the end teachers were disempowered in the implementation of local language policy.

Parent demands

The indirect influence of parents on schooling issues like exams was highlighted by participants as a major challenge to the implementation programme. One of the recommendations by the government white paper of 1992 was assessment of learners based on continuous assessment (CA) to capture learners' progress (GoU, 1992). This was also recommended by the Curriculum Review Commission for implementation in the 2007 thematic curriculum. The advantage was to take account of individualised learner performances and take notice of the learner's progress. It also was diagnostic in approach to identify individualised learner weaknesses and address them in a timely manner. Teachers however argued that apart from the practice of continuous assessment being beyond the resource capacities of schools, not well understood by teachers, and unrealistic in the context, it was not understood by parents who were used to reports and marks from exams. Therefore, it did not meet its intended role and teachers and other stakeholders have continued to focus on the final primary exam. Participants stated:

Kate3: Even other stakeholders like parents they expect a report of that kind. If the child does not sit the end term exam, that is now a war with the parent. Why is it that my child never sat for the exam? You cannot tell her/[him] that I have been assessing this child continuously so they don't know what is taking place. The people just pushed things down here.

Nam1: Teachers try but because of the mixed opinions in the community they are used to end of term, year exams and reports the moment you present this one they think you are doing a disservice. So because of that attitude at the end of the term parents give us

money to buy the exams from examination centres and in order not to be different from others....

KP4: In fact in 2008 some parents were bringing back reports to us complaining what kind of reports are these, this school no longer has teachers who can write in English for the parents? From P1 up to P3, we write them in local language but now they have come to accept.

These comments from various teachers revealed that parents had influenced schools and in the process had frustrated the assessment process that would support the implementation of the mother tongue policy. In addition, parents also indirectly sustained English medium exams through buying exams for preparing their children to compete favourably with other schools and at PLE. This consequently impacted on the teacher required to implement the language policy.

This section considered processes in the ecological environment impacting on teachers in their implementation of mother tongue. The next section considers factors appearing at the individual-level.

Individual domain (Person)

The characteristics, knowledge, professional background, attitudes and beliefs of teachers are fundamental factors that influence the policy implementation process (Carless, 2005; Clarke & Hollingsworth, 2002). In this study, the individual domain comprised three person characteristics of force, demand and resource factors (Bronfenbrenner, 1994) explained in Chapters 3 and 4.

Force factors

Force characteristics, also referred to as dispositions, are to do with temperament, motivation and persistence (Bronfenbrenner, 1994). Teachers executed the language policy in light of their personalities, character or habits, and beliefs (Carless, 2005; Clarke and Hollingsworth, 2002). The data collected in the schools visited revealed divergent views and dispositions among school head teachers and teachers in relation to the implementation of the language policy. More than half the number of teachers and head teachers interviewed (11/18) portrayed positive dispositions about the innovation as a feasible project that had brought some positive changes. Some of the changes mentioned included improvement in reading and general academic performance, expression and confidence in the local language, changes in behaviour as well as increased parental involvement with the school. One mother tongue teacher asserted:

Nam1: Those that we teach using their local language understand more, you can get about 30 out of 50 hands up but when you use English you can get like 10 out of 50 hands up and the class atmosphere is very different. In an English class their motivation is very low but when in local language [instruction class] they familiarise themselves with the things you are talking about.

A similar observation was made by a transition class teacher (P4) who was also a deputy head teacher:

KP2: Improvement in reading is there, expression may be. Students can express themselves very well in the local language. It has also brought some parents to get involved with the school

About half the number of participants (7/18) expressed negative tendencies about the policy and its viability contrary to those participants described above. Among those who were

negative some portrayed frustration on the way the policy was implemented without adequate preparation especially because some had not had formal training in teaching through the Luganda medium (the language of instruction for the districts visited). In fact, responding to a question on whether they believed that the mother tongue policy was the right policy for pupils academically, half of the participants (9/18) did not believe that the mother tongue policy was the right policy for their pupils academically. Similarly, out of the total number of 18 teachers and head teachers that were interviewed, seven believed that the mother tongue policy would degrade the teaching profession. For example:

NT2: Yes, if you compare with urban schools we are at a lower scale than the urban schools depending on the performances in PLE because these kids [in urban schools] start off in English. The pupils start with English and it eases their tasks at PLE.

Kate 1: Yes, because when you come to our communities, parents no longer value teachers because they do speak the same language. Even if the parent is illiterate he knows that the child comes to school to learn Luganda which is being used at home, so parents do not respect teachers but if we were teaching in English they see a difference between the two a teacher and a farmer. And secondly when children tend to drop out before P6 or P5 they know limited English, that means that teachers do less work, so it also degrades in that way. Yet they do something, children that drop out between P4 or P5 they have Luganda to read but cannot read English though not all.

Kate3: Precisely, like the way it is now, the way it is taught, the way it is read, the way it is carried out in the schools. It must, it will degrade the education performance, it will...

The teachers also observed that much as the innovation was a genuine one aimed at improving the education system, it was unrealistic in practice because it was introduced hurriedly without proper planning to suit the context on the ground. They argued that the preparation for the innovation was inadequate with no detailed planning in terms of resources and infrastructure to contain the demands of the innovation. Some of the participants highlighted this stand point in their statements below:

Nam1: Also if the policies came down with the resources necessary we would work well. So some of us that are not native speakers of Luganda it is very hard to translate the English words in the books to Luganda.

NT2: The biggest challenge has been in reading and writing in the local language. Even the books we do not have, like reference books and the teacher's guide is in English and it is upon you to translate but you find a word that is very difficult to translate to luganda even if you are a muganda.

The above mother tongue teacher (Nam1) and P4 teacher (NT2) were implying here that they lacked the mother tongue resources like books. Hence conducting lessons in MT medium but utilising English text books through translation. Another MT teacher (Kate3) below highlighted further that teachers were not prepared with appropriate teaching methods that came with the new policy of MT and the Thematic curriculum (Detailed in Chapter1):

Kate3: Why I am saying so, is because the methodology of this [teaching in mother tongue] is not what people [teachers] actually employ. The 'would be' good methods that go with MT language policy are not what people are employing because after setting the policy teachers were not given the methods of employing this, so teachers

are in their first methods which are completely different from what they would have employed to make this one[language policy] move.

Such teachers and head teachers tended to have negative dispositions because they saw the use of mother tongue in school not advancing their aims in education as well as meeting the needs of the students. These dispositions influenced their implementation of the policy because they continued to make choices from their perceptions of what would be in the best interests of their learners for the future. For example one of these choices was retaining the English medium for particular subjects for the benefit of learners passing exams as suggested in the comments below:

NT2: So for us we change some few things like in Mathematics we teach it in English, RE [Religious Education] we teach it in English. Then we teach Luganda as a subject also.

Kay 2: It would be better if we were to teach Luganda as a subject and the other subjects we teach them in English for the learners to understand because they find problems in answering those questions when they are for example in P7 and other classes. The issue is how to pass P7.

Demand factors

Demand characteristics are those that encourage or discourage reactions from the social environment. Findings that emerged from the data highlighted age as being influential because the younger generation teachers did not have access to the local languages in school. Older teachers seemed to applaud and support the use of mother tongue compared to younger teachers. Out of the total of 18 teachers, more than 50% (N=13) of the participants fell in the lower age bracket that went through an English medium system. The teachers who accessed

their education through the English medium were very much inclined towards teaching in English. Much as some supported the mother tongue/area language model in principle they still felt inadequate to carry out the implementation process. The two examples below show the comments from the two teachers in the two age brackets. Nam2 falls in the younger age bracket (30-39) while NamHT3 is in the age range of 40-49:

Nam2: Yes, it will help the learners because I am one of the victims in a way that when I was in primary, they were teaching us using English. The problem I am finding now is how to write Luganda it is a problem and yet I am a Muganda. We have to combine the two as English being the medium of communication because we have only one language as the official language in the country which is English. We should use the two. It looks bad to be a Muganda when you cannot write Luganda and read Luganda well. [Younger teacher]

NamHT3: Yeah, I think so because it [mother tongue] is the same policy I underwent when I was still in Primary. I was taught in the local language from P1-P3 so it is just being revised and it helped me so much because when I went to urban areas I found it difficult to express myself in English but I understood the content even better than those who were very fluent in English.[Older teacher]

The teacher (Nam2) seemed to imply that the younger generation teachers were more inclined to English medium by virtue of the fact that they went through an English medium system of education. He affirmed this further in his next comment:

NamT2: Most teachers especially those of my age bracket don't know how to write Luganda because we never studied Luganda.

In areas that had a wide variety of ethnicity or language backgrounds in the community, teachers seemed to suggest greater challenges in implementation of the mother tongue policy in the classroom due to varied language backgrounds among pupils. An education officer at one of the districts and Head teacher asserted:

CoT2: ... It is a very big challenge and of course like Kayunga where every tribe is represented you don't expect them[teachers] to have the [fluency and proficiency in] Luganda. There are Balaalo, Basoga, Gishu, Dholas; at this very school

NamHT3: One of the challenges we are having multilingual communities, though we are in Buganda but we have a number of people who are not Baganda. Then we have to use Luganda so you find that the child is a Munyankole, at home they talk Runyankole comes here we emphasis Luganda and yet about 50-40% of the class are not Baganda and are not using Luganda at home though we are in a rural area. The problem we as teachers we do not know their languages too [laughs].

Teachers from different ethnic groups or teachers with learners from varied ethnic groups therefore seemed more hesitant to implement the mother tongue policy as compared to those with a relatively common ethnicity.

The above teachers' individual factors highlight teachers' direct impact on the implementation of MT in terms of teacher beliefs and attitudes, educational, social and professional background as well as their attributes.

Resource factors

The teacher's skills, education, ability and professional background also seemed influential in the implementation of the mother tongue policy. Teachers that had a professional experience in mother tongue either by learning local languages at college or in their earlier education

exhibited more confidence and had a positive tendency towards the implementation compared to teachers that did not have any mother tongue professional background.

Nam2: No, for me I never had [local language training]. It should be so because when you go to workshops you learn more, so we need refresher courses. I for one at P4 I feel I should have trained in these languages because as I told you Luganda is still a problem and yet I have that subject Luganda. I teach Luganda in P4 as a subject but what I do before I go to class I first consult the teachers of the lower classes because for them they know how to write and spell words then I go and teach.

One head teacher (NamHT3) that had studied in the local languages in his school years exhibited a positive tendency to MT:

NamHT3: Yeah, I think so because it is the same policy I underwent when I was still in Primary. I was taught in the local language from P1-P3 so it is just being revised and it helped me so much because when I went to urban areas I found it difficult to express myself in English but I understood the content even better than those who were very fluent in English.

The evidence from data collected from interviews indicated that some teachers involved with teaching through mother tongue had not been adequately trained or equipped to handle the implementation of the policy. This meant that the teachers available did not have the capabilities to instruct in the local languages. This was especially so because some of these teachers underwent an English medium system of education and others were non-native speakers of Luganda. This former system devalued the use of local languages and as a result local language teachers were not readily available. One head teacher (KPHT3) emphasised this in her comment:

KPHT3: They [teachers] are not competent in either of the languages. This is because of the way the very first instances of introducing this policy when it was being implemented the teachers themselves did not know what exactly they had to do.

Teachers do not know how to implement the local languages ...

These comments were reinforced by the infant teacher (P1) in a private school and a district official:

MCT1: When we were training in college these things [mother tongue training] were not there and have just got us in the system so what we trained we have put aside and the new things are difficult. It would have been easier if we were trained in the college but remember in college it takes two years and yet the training given takes only at most two weeks so they are a problem

DIS1: May be some times if I look back at the time I went to primary ... We used to have what we call vernacular teachers. You remember? There was that cadre of vernacular teachers who were educated to a certain level. So definitely such a person when it comes to handling the local languages I think he is more competent than this one who has used English throughout primary school to secondary and to college.

Those teachers/grades were phased out long time ago.

The teacher skills, education, ability and professional background therefore seemed to have played a major role on the way they carried out the implementation of the mother tongue. The policy implementation appeared to have been affected by the lack of skills of some teachers in the area language. The issue of lack of training was raised by both teachers and head teachers.

Context Domain

The context or ecological environment in which teachers worked had an influence on the way they tended to implement the MT in the classroom. Context was considered at three levels, in line with the theoretical framework of this study. The first level-micro looked at the teacher in the school environment. The second level-meso, considered the teachers in an environment of sub-systems (parents and communities, degree of external support from academics, researchers and non-government organisations (NGOs) and the third level-macro, involved the influence of government on the teacher.

The school ecological environment (Micro-level)

This level according to Bronfenbrenner (1994) is any environment where the teacher or individual spends a major part of his or her time engaging in interactions and activities. In this study, the level incorporated the immediate environment of the teacher involving direct interpersonal relations and activities. The people and groups in the school included teachers, the principal, peers, administration and support staff. The interactions and activities consisted of the degree of encouragement, inappropriate textbooks and other teaching materials in mother tongue, and the context within which the school is located. All of these directly influenced the teachers' attitudes in the implementation process.

In terms of context the two rural districts visited during data collection, had diverse languages and tribes making them multilingual communities just like in urban settings. At a school level some schools had fewer native children compared to those that came into the district [non-Baganda] as attested by some teachers:

MCHT3: What I may say it is average and the Baganda the owners of the place are the smallest number compared to others because we are in Bunyara land and when someone speaks Lunyala it is totally different from Luganda, totally different and it is in Buganda land so the Banyala take a given percentage, the Baganda are very few even if you walked around the villages there are just a mixture like 20 percent, Bagisu, 22 percent, Basoga, 20 percent Bagwere.....

KP4: ...the Baganda did not produce so much and they are few and that's why maybe they are overwhelmed by other tribes. In most cases here we have a bigger number of Basoga, Bagishu and Bagwere but the Banyala are few.

These comments revealed challenges in implementation due to a multiplicity of tribes in the classroom. Luganda, the mother tongue and also the area language in the two districts was seen as a minority area language by the other tribes that had settled in the communities. They viewed its use as a medium of instruction in school as an imposed language on pupils from other tribes simply because it happened to be the language of the central region. This imposition also affected and imposed a burden on some pupils with language backgrounds that were not socially-linguistically intelligible with Luganda. Some teachers argued that such learners were likely to be as disadvantaged by the area language as English: This is further expressed by a MT teacher below:

Kate3: You find like ten [10] languages here. So those 10 languages how do you identify that this is a local language? So surely, you call it Luganda because you/we are in central but there are many children in there who do not know Luganda. Now, you are instructing in a local language which is Luganda... Yet you taught them in the local language and I imagine a Munyankore who is speaking Runyankore is taught in the

local language [Luganda] and she/he is evaluated in English. So I really pity such a child.

The teachers further wondered why in a similar scenario to urban areas, they were still disempowered either to use their varying mother tongue or English as in urban areas like Kampala where English is used as a medium of instruction. This alleged imposition of a second language (Luganda) as a medium of instruction on the various pupils from different tribes and language backgrounds may explain why some teachers did not support the policy. Many teachers also lacked the capacity to teach the local language and teach through it as a MoI. Some teacher's comments effectively support this:

NHT3: and we also have so many tribes in this area. Some have come from the Eastern, and teaching the local language in the schools in Kayunga here we are supposed to teach in the local language that is Luganda. Most of the teachers don't know how to teach Luganda, so that is a very big challenge.

CoT2: Yes, it is a very big challenge and most of them do not have interest in teaching a language which is notmay I take it as a second language? yeah because someone is a Musoga, a Muteso and cannot teach Luganda

In terms of school contexts, the data revealed two categories of schools; those that were relatively well facilitated and others poorly equipped to carry out effectively the implementation programme. Such contexts it was found played a very big effect on which direction the implementation process took. The fairly well-facilitated school in Mpigi district had a bigger and better equipped library (Ya1). The teacher of a P3 class observed teaching an English language class used relatively little code mixing, moving from one language to another. The classroom setting was arranged in a way that promoted group learning with a

table sitting arrangement of about 5/6 pupils but looked congested and not easily penetrable to the back. The class teacher was supported by an assistant seated at the back of the classroom who picked on some learners that were not attentive. This situation occurred in a stream within the school that used the local language only for instruction except when learning English as a subject. Pupils in this stream were day scholars from the community. The school was relatively well-resourced and considered one of the best in the district.

In another relatively well facilitated government school (Za1) which was in Kayunga district most communication in the compound was Luganda [local language]. Little signage was displayed in the compound but what was there was in English, for example “Be aware of HIV Aids”. School Za1 was considered a fairly well-resourced institution with some dilapidated buildings, but others were new having been constructed by an NGO as well as receiving other related support. The library looked big and fairly well stocked. In the class visited observations revealed that the charts on the walls were in both English and the local language. There was an ongoing local language class [literacy 1] which was very vibrant and participatory, actively engaging children to answer what activities are done by people at home. Input was high and almost everyone was involved.

In contrast, in what was identified as a poorly resourced government school (Ya2) the school had a total of 302 pupils and 6 teachers—a ratio of 50 to 1. It was a very rural school and poorly facilitated. The timetable showed that local language as a subject was taught from P1-P7. In the P1 class visited and observed the charts and wall displays, such as cards used for instruction [illustrations] were all in Luganda. The lesson was about things found in the school [theme] so the teacher drew some items found in the school and children identified what they were. The students later matched similar items on the two sections of the blackboard.

The class context favoured teacher-centred methodologies. Children's text books were not available or were non-existent, and teacher books were in English. In the P1 class the teacher had two groups; the actual P1 seated on the benches with another small group at the back seated on the mat on the floor. When I later asked the teacher about this arrangement she said the group of about 12 pupils on the mat were a kindergarten group composed mainly of teachers' children. As the teacher organised the P1 class those seated on the floor were given different work. The same teacher had to teach P2 as well because the P2 teacher was absent. The teacher conditions were not as favourable as those in the well to do government school (Ya1) or the private School (Yb1). The teachers survived in harsh conditions like walking long distances to and from the school, they had no lunch or even porridge at break and lunch time.

The following day, I visited the P4 class which did not have a roof over the pupils' heads. It was carried out under a tree. The teacher identified three pupils in P4 that had visual impairment and needed special educators as well as facilities that were non-existent. No teacher among the 6 teachers in the school had the special skills to handle these children but they kept coming to school.

The head teacher revealed that funding by government was their biggest challenge. The funds provided were not enough under the Universal Primary Education (UPE) funds programme that provided UGx 700 shillings per child per year (US \$0.25). This money was given quarterly, totalling to UGx 900,000 shillings per quarter (about US \$275). To ease the pressure the school asked parents for a contribution towards feeding pupils at school and agreed to a contribution of UGx 5000 shillings per child per term for porridge but only 90 out of 300 had responded. One head teacher affirmed this when he asserted:

NamHT3: We are given 150,000 as government funding for the school for the whole term but it does not come in time. So it is difficult for us head teachers because the school has to run.

The picture was however contrary with private schools. A relatively well resourced private school (Zb1) in Kayunga district had nursery, primary and secondary sections. The timetable for nursery showed letters, reading, writing, drawing, news and numbers, physical education (PE) for baby, middle and top classes with no sign of the local language. All displays in the compound and in the classrooms that were visited (P1 and P4) were in English. The school had a well-stocked library. The school's setting was a replica of an urban well-to-do school, seemingly misplaced when considering the community or surrounding environment of dusty roads, a small trading centre nearby with a good number of grass thatched houses.

In general, observations carried out in the classroom environment portrayed a sense that the well-resourced schools were better positioned to effectively implement the language policy compared to the ill-resourced classrooms or schools. Those well off seemed able to achieve some outcomes with relative ease compared to the ill resourced ones that were in most need. The poorly resourced schools, however, seemed to be more committed to the mother tongue implementation.

At the school level all these schools visited exhibited a critical lack of resources, especially government aided schools. The issue of resources was a very pertinent one in the rural classrooms. It was an aspect identified by several respondents. Even the funds remitted by government to support the general programme of Universal Primary Education were very meagre. Additionally these UPE funds were not provided in time. These aspects have contributed to a negative impact on the mother tongue innovation in the classrooms. One

head teacher from a government relatively well-facilitated school affirmed this in her statement below:

NamHT3: Our schools are also not well financed to buy them [teaching and reading resources in MT] and therefore a problem because teachers do not get access to teaching materials due to poor funding. But we do encourage our teachers to be creative by exploring use of local resources. The UPE funds sent to the school are also very inadequate to buy some of these things because not everything can be done using the environment around. There is need for some money to buy makers, manilla papers, so there is still that big challenge.

The resource issue in terms of books to support the implementation of local languages was captured as one of the biggest challenges to teachers in rural classrooms. Some extracts highlight this further:

KPHT3: The government has tried to give us the resources gradually but the books are not enough because they are brought in shifts they are not enough and because we are few they can give like a class two copies depending on the number of pupils

DEO2: There are no books for local languages for instance in Luganda here, even those that were given to the schools had a lot of mistakes, and are inadequate. But it is still a very big challenge with regard to resources.

KateHT3: But again, we have some problem some subjects don't have books and some words are very difficult to change. So that is a problem now hindering that programme.

The books written in English made an extra burden for the mother tongue/area language teacher to translate as a result of inadequate vocabulary in mother tongue/area language since a number of them were not trained to handle local languages.

KateHT3: yeah, I would break it.....because some words in science... For example, a word like photosynthesis. Breaking it into local language is hard. What I would do, I would teach that child photosynthesis without changing it. I would explain it properly to him and he takes it in English. And for me what I think these people who studied the curriculum at the very beginning of education they did not sit with the skilful local people to change their words according to the local language. So that was the mistake which was made at the beginning they would have sat together and made the curriculum but they did not call the skilful people.

Kate1: Before implementation they should give teachers correct instructional materials to use like reference books because most teachers write or pronounce words differently, yet they are from the same region. For example when you are teaching mathematics, shapes, you are teaching a circle, you wonder which word you are going to use. So some words we don't have the right word to translate.

The aspect of teacher competence in the mother tongue/ area language, vocabulary and translation skills as well as lack of appropriate resources have impacted the teachers' effective implementation of the policy.

Teacher attitudes

Data also revealed a general trend in teacher attitudes towards the language innovation. This trend depicted some tensions among the lower and upper level teachers. The upper primary

class teachers perceived the lower class teachers as inferior because of teaching in the local languages and so did the learners as evidenced in the following comments:

Kate1: and when you go to another side [upper primary], some teachers who teach in the upper classes feel they are the best and those who teach in the local language they feel that these ones do not have enough subject matter compared to them. So there is that undermining.

KP1: For example we are here at school when our pupils enter P4 which is the English [medium] class you find teachers complaining. Are these people from KAZOOBA? They call us KAZOOBA, the thematic [teachers at p1-P3] that we are disturbing them so much as they start implementing the English curriculum in P4. From the days of the week, Monday is called KAZOOBA. The children are used to Luganda from P1 up to P3 so when they get to P4 they get problems.

These tensions in a sense partly explained the absence of local languages at the upper primary level. In a way it added to the teachers' burden since learners were used to the local language and therefore were almost non-functional in the English medium of instruction at this level. Evidence also revealed the influence of fellow teachers on the implementing teacher.

Some schools observations revealed that much as teachers especially at infant level utilised MT medium in the classroom, they still tended to emphasise English. This was the same with languages spoken in the compound but with a bit of relative laxity. It could be observed that much as the teachers supported MT medium, constraints made them quite uncomfortable in believing that it was the best for children's learning success. Others teachers however asserted that instead of negative reinforcements they were rather encouraging their students through positive reinforcements like counselling and caution as

one teacher acknowledged that “we just encourage them to speak English, ... for us we just encourage them that since the final exams are set in English you have to do enough practice so that you are able to answer the questions during examinations”.

Observations made in the classrooms also revealed large classroom numbers are a major setback in the implementation process. Some teachers affirmed that large classroom numbers made it difficult to prepare learning materials, marking, help individual learners, and led to failure to complete the syllabus. Typical comments were:

NT2: ... two is congestion in the classroom; children are too many you don't even have space to move around to guide

MPIT2: ... you need to help a child per child but they are many and the 40 minutes is very little for the lesson. So you find that guiding the children is a problem on individual basis, you start marking the books and you take an hour and yet there is another lesson in waiting so we teach little, we give them little work so that we cope with time.

The aspects of over-crowded classrooms and lack of resources within the immediate ecological environment were revealed through observations and interviews as highly affecting the implementation process.

Observed language use and its effects

The management and control of language use both in the classroom and in the school compound was a significant factor in the implementation process. Observations carried out in the school revealed that reinforcements applied to curtail frequent use of the local languages were not always supportive to learners. A case in point was in one of the government aided

schools when during break time two groups of boys brought in two boys carrying them almost off their feet chanting “vernacular speakers” and delivered them to the staffroom [infant teacher staffroom], with one of the boys in tears. When I got to him later, he revealed he was in P2. They stayed at the staffroom awaiting their punishments. In the crowd in the compound during break you could still hear voices “vernacular speakers”. It is important to consider the need for the non-dominant languages to be taught positively as the teachers work towards preparing learners for English.

The above factors such as large pupil numbers, teacher attitudes, resources, played out greatly at the micro level in influencing the implementation of MT. The next section looks at the second level-the meso-system.

Linkages within sub-systems (Meso-level)

Linkages with other sub-systems involving the classroom teacher are considered at the meso-level. Parents and communities influenced the teachers’ perceptions, interpretations, and actions on policy implementation. Furthermore, the interactions between the community and the school also play a part in the teachers’ implementation of the policy. The degree of external support from academics, researchers and non-government organisations (NGOs) at this level can also influence the attitudes of teachers in the ways they respond to the implementation of the language policy in the classroom.

Attitudes of Parents

The parents’ attitudes towards the use of MT was identified as a major challenge to teachers’ implementation of the programme. The teachers asserted that some parents had a preconceived understanding that speaking English is considered as being educated. They held a general assumption that people who speak better English are the most learned, are the

people who understand, and who can do things better than those that use local languages. Parents, according to these teachers, have not understood why the use of local language is restricted to only their rural children and yet non-examinable in the upper classes and at the primary leaving exams (PLE). Hence parents perceived no purpose or reason for use of local language as a medium of instruction in school. Typical teacher comments were:

Kate 2: The parents....at times they see it differently when they hear that their children are speaking Luganda, they are studying in Luganda they see that as degrading. So the parent is not sensitised and at times the parent can even move the child from the school to another where he hears English is being used. They tend to see it as degrading or as a language only spoken at home.

DIS1: ...even the communities around they think that the schools that speak a lot of English are the best schools even when the facilities are not there, but they think aha... but what are the facilities on the ground? they are not there.

In these comments the teachers affirmed that the parents associated speaking good English with learning including numeracy and literacy skills. Hence they believed that with the use of local languages learning could not take place. In other words the parents did not see the role played by English in the classroom taken over by local languages. This in turn impacted on teachers' effective implementation since the communities that sent their children to school did not support the policy on local languages.

It is however important to understand why parents seemed to exhibit some resistance to the use of the local language medium in the classroom without necessarily branding their resistance in a negative sense. A head teacher (MPIHT3) from one private school emphasised that parents' attitudes were real and authentic. She argued that if English is not emphasised

learners will not be absorbed in higher institutions of learning and later on in the job market. Parents want their children to have a bright future and that the reality is that to get this they need to excel in academic pursuits, English being a prerequisite for success that they do not see with local languages. Academic achievement is equated to better employment, better salaries and a comfortable life style which many of these parents did not enjoy because of lack of access to the English and education in general. Some statements below from varied participants highlighted the influence of parents below:

MPIHT3: They [parents] come here telling us that ohh.. I am happy my child can at least speak English so my child can write this word in English they like the English better than the mother tongue. That's why we give you our children here because they can speak English and now the government is telling us to implement the language policy. Now what should we do?

DIS1: ...if a child goes to nursery or goes to P1 and comes home and is able to say good morning daddy, my name is so and so...that parent is happier than a child who will come speaking in the local language or mother tongue. They think this school [private] is doing better than the government school and parents are convinced to take to private schools because at the end of the day, exams are set in English for him he is looking at the end of year or cycle exam.

Nam1: some don't like it [mother tongue/area language policy] especially when they compare with the private schools [which use English medium], so they ask how the children will compete with those in private schools at PLE.

The discussion on parents' tendency to prefer private schools due to English medium teaching seems to show uncertainties of a system that appears to disadvantage their children

while favouring those that have access to English. This lack of parental support impacted greatly on teachers' implementation of the programme.

Influence of non-government organisations

The role of local Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), community based development intervention organisations (CBDOs), cultural institutions, faith organisations and private organisations were highlighted as another major influence on implementation. Data from interviews revealed schools in areas with such active and participating institutions tended to align with the implementation as a result of support and facilitation provided by these institutions. This support could be in terms of physical resources, direct support to learners, and professional development. Some head teachers and teachers affirmed that some organisations within the community had been instrumental in the implementation of mother tongue/ area language instruction by provision of resources, capacity building and direct support to learners. For example, one head teacher (NHT3) and an education official at the district supported the influence and role of NGOs:

NHT3: We are relatively facilitated ...and our partners are trying. When I came to this school the structures here were...you see the other structure...[points to an old classroom block] within that year that I joined the school, Airtel [Telecommunications Company] came through the Ministry of Education and they selected our school and that's how we got the chance to be supported by Airtel. They also facilitate us, ok this building was incomplete, at window level so when they came they first completed this building, now we have a small library and we had no office but now I have an office. They facilitated us with computers as well as text books so we are not badly off.....

CoT1: We call them refresher courses. We normally have 3-5 days and this has been done mostly in Nkozi Sub County with the help of World Vision, like how to assess learners. I think it is leaving the sub-county in 2017

External support from academics, educational institutions, and researchers also seemed a vital influence in the implementation process. Universities as centres of higher learning were identifiers and solution providers to societal/community challenges. The universities were instrumental in developing African languages through training courses in these languages, writing books in African languages, developing appropriate teaching methods in these languages, and deriving suitable instructional materials among others. They also conducted research in these languages to inform policy makers to derive and adopt appropriate and authentic policies for local languages in education. At a broader level, universities conducted cross-border collaborations with countries with shared linguistic problems to harmonise and standardise these languages. One participant however asserted that much as they try to meet their obligations, they too met challenges:

LS1: ...there is no institutional framework that facilitates our participation in the implementation process at the lower levels but as on individual basis just like I told you we lack resources. If resources were available for sensitization that would be fine but there isn't much you can do

LS1: At University we are doing our best to write in these languages especially in collaboration with fountain publishers we are having those books that existed before and new materials are coming up. If you go to Fountain publishers we have written many books in local languages. The owner is an interested party in promoting the local languages throughout the country so it is beyond monetary gains, that's Mr Tumusiime.

Such institutional involvement impacted greatly on the implementing teacher. Where such institutions were involved active implementation by teachers was easier because of the role played by external organisations compared to where they were not active, instrumental, or absent. Hence the interactions among external providers and schools, meso-level factors, were seen to influence teachers' effective implementation of the policy. The next section will explore further factors and their influence on teacher implementation of mother tongue/ area language at the exo-level, in the classroom and immediate school environment.

Central and regional government support (Macro-level)

The macro level focused on the factors impacting upon the teachers' implementation of the language policy arising from the influence or impact of government both at central and regional level. These factors included the wider reform climate, the impact of relevant government agencies, examination boards, and curriculum authorities that affected the way teachers implemented the language policy in schools. Factors emerged under four themes of national language policies, implementation planning and management, attitudes towards multilingualism, and educational policies.

National Language Policies

This section examines some of the issues surrounding the language policy in education. The influence of national language policies on the implementation of the mother tongue/area language policy in rural classrooms is considered.

There seemed to be a lack of a clear policy document to guide implementers. The teachers stated that the Uganda language policy in education, adopted from the 1992 Government White Paper on education remained a policy statement and had not been converted into a document that detailed out the guidelines for implementation. The lack of

guidelines to the teachers had seemingly made the implementation challenging. One education specialist (CDS) and teacher (Kate1) commented:

CDS: I have been talking about writing guidelines about the implementation of the language policy since 2003 but people don't ...they don't understand it the way I see it... We don't have a language policy. We have a language statement we need a booklet which will explain all that you are talking about.

Kate 1: There is no big problem [with the policy], the issue is that the government introduced the policy but it never emphasised it.

This complexity was further captured in discussion with one of the education specialists who exhibited frustration as a result of the lack of a document that spelled out the necessary guidelines for implementation. This was highlighted by her example that reflected the absence of such a document and the likely consequences.

CDS: Places like Kilyandongo in Hoima district, ... They have about 10 languages in the district. And are saying they wanted to use their languages. They were giving us a school and even the languages spoken there....give them Alulu books, give them Lugbara books; give the Lugungu books, like that. That's a district full of refugees from Uganda and beyond. When we got that letter we sent it to IMU which distributes materials, they know what to do better. And we said Kilyandongo is not alone, there even other districts. What type of books will you give to Wakiso if you keep on bending low to what people want.... You need to find a way of cutting the cake....but once we do it for Kilyandongo, we shall be opening a can of worms. Busia is going to tell you the same, even Kampala will come in also and say in Naguru we want Luo books, we in Makindye we want these books. And we will find ourselves overwhelmed.

Her comment seemed to imply that appropriate guidelines were needed but that to provide these guidelines would be difficult at best because of the range and variety of languages spoken in the country.

Some of teachers exhibited a lack of thorough knowledge on the guidelines for implementing the policy during the interviews, even though all the 18 teachers answered that they did know the mother tongue policy.

MPT2: Ok, I heard that the policy says it could be better for all pupils especially the primary level to be taught in the local language or the language that they understand better. That's the clue I have about it.

NT3: Yes, the government says we are not supposed to force children speak English. Because English most times disturbs them.

Kate 2:language policy? We are having it as, but English is just.... a way of communicating. Anti [that] according to the language policy.....nti[that Luganda be used] from P4 then onwards oluzungu lwe luina okukozesebwa [English is what has to be used]....eh... then P3 okudda wansi [down words] it is the local language and English is there as a subject.

Some teachers were not able to differentiate the policy from the thematic curriculum policy. The thematic curriculum was the same in both rural and urban lower primary schools. The only difference was that urban schools accessed it through English while rural schools accessed it through the mother tongue/ area language medium. Some participants tended to exhibit a tendency to think that MT and the thematic curriculum were one and the same policy:

KPHT3the policy says that P1-P3 is thematic and P4 is transition upwards.

This comment from a head teacher (KPHT3) revealed the confusion between the two policies.

In addition to the lack of a policy document, the lack of clarity on the part of the policy also seemed to impact on the decision of which language to use. This choice was left to the individual districts and communities but without a clarified language document with guidelines to stipulate the process to be followed in identifying the languages to be used. Although rural areas were designated to use mother tongue or area language, contextual differences created dilemmas for the implementing teachers, leading to conflicting interpretations and understandings. For example, a teacher (Kate3) in school Ya1 in Mpigi district said:

Kate3: Yes, aspects: Surely one is the way of identifying what is called a local language. In Uganda here, we have so many languages, in an area like this one people are speaking Luganda, others are speaking Runyankore plus many other languages. You find like ten [10] languages here. So those 10 languages how do you identify that this is a local language? So surely, you call it Luganda because you/we are in central but there are many children in there who do not know Luganda. Now, you are instructing in a local language which is Luganda. So you leave them between there. I would like to get a way of identifying a local language in the area ...

Nam1: it is difficult to identify what would be the best local language. At times in places you find like here not so much but in some places you find that learners that speak Luganda are almost the same percentage as those who speak Runyankore and then you fail to identify the best local language.

KateHT3: And another point here we are mixed, we have different tribes so we cannot stick on one language because we are mixed. Some are from Sudan, some are from the northern region, some are from the western region so in order to have one language that's why we are centring on English.

The above comments by teachers and head teachers revealed that although the decision on what language to use was left to communities and districts, in reality the decision was more of a school and classroom level dilemma. Teachers were still faced with the language challenge, a sign that there was still a gap in specificity or clarity on policy. The comments below exemplified the state of language decision making that teachers and schools were grappling with, without district and community involvement.

Kate 1: According to our school setting we receive children from outside central region, so those ones we teach them thematically but in English and receive Luganda as a subject. [Others that come from the community are taught in area language-Luganda] However during the assessment we write two sets; a set for Luganda and a set for English. That means mathematics in Luganda, mathematics in English but when you look at the true assessment those who study in English outperform these ones in Luganda, yet these ones study in Luganda. Yes it is true, even if you could go to the assessment you would see that number one this way is number one that way.[Government school]

MCHT3: Now, with us here we emphasise more English language [instruction] from nursery to P7 reason being we are living in an area where there are several tribes. We have many Sudanese who have come here and they totally don't know the Luganda language. Yet the school is found in the central region, then we have many Gisuus [Bagisu]who came from Budduda after the landslides incident, that also gave us very

many, we have Sogis[Basoga], all tribes are here. Sometimes when we use only Luganda we are leaving out the non Baganda, when we are to use English at least it is a common language. It becomes the medium, so whoever joins from nursery gets to know the language but slowly. [Private school]

NamHT3: Yes, in our school arrangement we use the local language from P1-P3 and we only use English when we are teaching it as a subject. We emphasise the use of English [medium] from P4-P7 but since this is Buganda it is inevitable for us to use Luganda also to accompany English when we find our learners getting stuck. [Government]

The above comments from different rural schools revealed diverse school language policies being applied, most of which deviated from the government policy of using mother tongue/area language medium. Even in schools that emphasised they were following the mother tongue/ area language policy, the policy was only partly executed.

The teachers also identified the policy discrepancy as a result of a contradictory approach to language-in-education policy at the primary level. In a bid to provide equitably for all learners, the government provided a language policy in primary education that took different approaches for urban and rural schools (see Chapters 1 and 2). Although it was done for the right reasons, this dual approach was seemingly not fulfilling one of the objectives of closing the equity and equality gap between rural and urban schools and communities. The major challenge in this approach was the aspect of both rural and urban schools sitting the same English examinations at the end of the primary cycle. Some teachers attested that this exam dilemma advantaged the urban schools to the detriment of rural schools because in urban schools they used the English medium throughout.

NT1: Yes, if you compare with urban schools we are at a lower scale than the urban schools depending on the performances in PLE [primary leaving exam] because these kids [in urban schools] start off in English. The pupils start with English and it eases their tasks at PLE.

Nam1: Ok, what I have mastered there is a decline in performance reaching in P4 where there is a yard stick, those who started with local language reaching Primary 7 they don't perform well like those who used to come with English from the grass root. Those used to perform better but because of that transition there between it has made them to perform a bit poorly.

CDS: And recently we were in Gulu, last year and...buses were ferrying children to Kampala [capital city].....so for these policy makers it is what their children do.....

The participant CDS was implying that children of the well-to-do continually left rural area schools for Kampala schools in the city where the education was in English medium with the necessary facilities and resources for quality learning. A consequence of this situation was that rural school education was left only to the poor who could not afford to get their children to the city or expensive private schools. A rift or divide had developed and had further been accelerated by the fact that English language had supporting resources while the local languages barely had any resources to support their usage. For example the local languages lacked local language books, language competent teachers, and other classroom resources. There are no incentives for motivating the learning and studying of and in the local languages. Many of the mother tongue languages had not been developed for academic purposes. This made the gap between the mediums of instruction in both rural and urban schools uneven and impacted on the performance of learners in the different areas.

Participants' views and observations made in the classrooms also indicated that even when mother tongue/ area language for instruction at lower level of primary was meant to be used in the rural areas, there was evidence of implementation inconsistencies. The inconsistencies were evident in terms of a lack of clarity of policy about rural private and government schools. It was not clear why private schools were allowed to use English medium or why they were not penalised for using English although operating in the same communities with government schools. Some teachers viewed this lack of clarity as reflecting double standards in the way the policy was implemented in private and government rural schools.

CoT1: when you go to private rural schools they actually conduct the thematic curriculum according to the guidelines but in English. And nobody talks about them because the policy says so! Where you can, you use English!...

The educator who made this comment asserted that the policy provided for schools to use English medium where they found it necessary in the rural areas. Another educator [DEO1] however stated that the mother tongue policy in rural areas applied to all schools regardless of being government or private. When asked why there was reluctance on effecting the policy uniformly to both private and government aided school in the district, an education officer commented:

DEO1: No! no school gets special treatment because much as Mpigi is located near Kampala and they look at town council as peri-urban but almost all the natives are from Buganda. We have very few from the North, some are from West but of course they have grown from the place. They understand very well the language [Luganda] so we are not as a district, giving some schools some special treatment for us we take ourselves as a rural district.

Most teachers (15/18) interviewed expressed concern that such a discrepancy was impacting on their implementation of the policy. They also recognised the fact that this seemed to advantage private schools at the expense of government schools, especially since the final exams at P7 were administered in English medium but also that the local languages were not examinable subjects. This private/ government rural school dilemma had consequently created a dichotomy of two different classroom environments in the same vicinity impacting negatively on the implementation process. As one teacher remarked:

KP2: some of these schools are living in different countries [two schools in the same vicinity, one using English medium and another using mother tongue medium], you find that a parent who has failed to pay there can migrate his children now here in P3, when they have lost a package of P1 and P3 they come in P4 and they cannot read anything and are weak in both languages.

The consequences of this contradiction had further impacted greatly on parent attitudes and decisions on the policy and what it meant to their children. One teacher highlighted how the contradiction has impacted on the decisions of parents for their children and consequently on teacher implementation.

KP1: That one, to me the parents are against the local languages in the schools. That's why some parents have removed their children from government schools to private schools because here we teach local language in the lower class and yet there when they compare their children and neighbours children, they see a P1 child of the neighbours speaking English and a P3 child in a government school speaking Luganda is not well conversant with English they say no.

This dichotomy was observed in the districts visited where private schools instructed in English and a few metres away a government school instructed in the local language. Both sat similar district administered exams printed in English, as well as the final English medium exams at the end of the primary cycle. The outcome of such tensions has had some government schools deviate from the mother tongue innovation back to English medium to match the competition for children with the private schools. The comments shown below highlight this trend:

CoT2:Actually it[mother tongue medium of instruction] is fading, now if I have told you that we began using English here last year, what does that mean.... And yet even where English medium is used, it is still a problem. as if there is no system which is supposed to be followed....

CoT1: Some schools divert from what the policy says and they do contrary and what brings this majorly is competition with private schools.

Therefore the aspect of unclear policy guidelines had widened the gap between private and government aided schools as well as rural and urban schools in their execution of the policy implementation of mother tongue/ area language.

The contradictions in ‘area languages’ as referenced in the White Paper and actual present day area language was identified as a pertinent issue impeding successful implementation of the mother tongue/area languages policy. The issue of area languages was introduced in the language policy but remained a contentious issue with not much advocacy and awareness done. One of the major reasons for the contention was that some of these area languages were not mother tongues to other communities who therefore perceived their use as dominance of another language over their own. The use of area languages was intended

partly to optimise resources that otherwise were not available to support all the languages for use in education. According to one language specialist (LS1), a lot of work had been done in all the area languages in Uganda, signifying success in harmonising orthographies of similar dialects to major area languages.

LS1: ... it is costly to have different orthographies when the orthographies can be written jointly and as CASAS we came up with that idea of harmonising and standardising the orthographies of African languages.....Practically we have harmonised Uganda. I know there is a question of minority languages, but we are looking at how viable is it? like Rufumbira, the orthography of Kinyarwanda and Kirundi exists and those languages are the same.

The language policy from the Government White Paper of 1992 replicated the area languages identified in the 1944 conference with an addition of Runyankole/ Rukiga in 1963 and later modified in 1965 to six area languages of Luo, Luganda, Lugbara, Runyankole/Rukiga, Ateso/Akirimajong, Runyoro/Rutoro (see Chapter 2). Some of these area language orthographies however had changed over time and others were no longer accepted by some minority language speakers. For example the Runyakole/Rukiga orthography had been merged with Runyoro/ Rutoro to one Runyakitara orthography as highlighted by one of the language specialists below:

LS1: We have managed to harmonise most of the languages like Runyakitara- Runyoro, Rutoro and Runyankole Rukiga are about 87% the same so we look at the level of mutual intelligibility. It tells you that you can have one document that guides your writing system. It does not mean that you are discarding the words but you can use the orthography to write in your respective mother tongue. In that case you need one resource-orthography rules.

LS1: We harmonised Ateso/Akirimajong, Eastern Lucastrine-Luganda, Lusoga, Lunyole, Lugweere, Lumasaba and Lusaamya; We harmonised Luo which has Langi, Acholi, Alul, and Japadhola. Then we harmonised Lugbara[Kumam, Lugbara,..] then there is another group of Sudanic languages [that were harmonised along with those in Southern Sudan because they have a bigger population in Southern Sudan.

From the above comments it can be realised that the move to valorisation of languages is taking place with support of higher institutions through advocating and harmonising them in accordance with the historical structure of the language groups.

Although a lot of developments in the area of MT had put in place orthographies of the various area languages, stakeholders were not aware of the importance of these developments and had not been informed about the implications of using MT or area languages in school. According to one participant [an education administrator at national level], the issue of area languages had not materialised to be embraced by stakeholders partly due to lack of funding. The stakeholders were not informed about it and were therefore uncertain on how area languages would be accepted if the stakeholders were ignorant of how their MTs would develop and flourish alongside the harmonised language groups.

CDS: ...that one phased out. It failed to work, it is me who had been given that homework to publicise that gospel and whenever we would make a budget to do it. We said we were going to talk to parliamentarians, DEOs, teacher trainers, curriculum developers, lecturers so that the idea goes. Whenever I would send in a budget they said this is too much, we cut it down by half they said it was still too much. So things died on like that....until we lost out.now let me tell you but it is very difficult to sell that idea through the *wanainki* [citizenry] and you know language is arbitrary, language is something agreed on by the users.

CDS: Now we have the idea we the educationists but the local people, how are we going to sell that idea? It was not well explained or sensitised ...now for us our budget we wanted to sensitise stakeholders so that they go down and sensitise those people. if a person of your language is talking to you and saying *munange olulimi lwaffe luno telugenda kuffa naye bwetugaata olulimi olukola amateeka galwo tujja kubanga tufunamu. Tujja kuyiiga ebiffa kubaganda baffe, byetufanaganya ne baganda baffe ela tuwandike ekintu nga tukolela wamu....* [My friend, our language is not going to be extinct but if we merge the orthographies into one, we will benefit. We will learn some aspects about our brothers in the other dialects that are similar and we write working together]. That is what we were going to do but it did not take off, we did not get the money.You never know, we can start by may be teaching it at University and then it trots down.

The above comments depict complexities in the use of area languages that teachers were confronted with at the implementation level especially in terms of acceptability of these orthographies by stakeholders. The aspect of lack of awareness or sensitization emerged paramount in impacting on teacher implementation and the role of government in addressing attitudes towards the implementation of the policy among the stakeholders was examined further.

Out of the total of 18 teachers interviewed, five believed the Ministry of Education had played a significant role in impacting on stakeholder attitudes to support mother tongue through sensitisation and advocacy. The remaining 13 participants indicated that the Ministry of Education had not significantly impacted on the stakeholder attitudes. Among those that asserted that government was sensitising the stakeholders through media to facilitate the implementation of mother tongue was a teacher below.

MCT1: Yes it has through different media like radio, Newspapers try to communicate to communities they even come to the grass root, holding dialogues with different communities, and talk about government policies in education, so it has tried.

Some the teachers that acknowledged government involvement were critical about the modes or methods used, affirming that the avenues used did not target the communities or relevant stakeholders.

MCT 1: I had it ok... sometimes they organise seminars and workshops and even on the radio but not sensitising the parents. And that thing [mother tongue medium] needs to be sensitised to the parents and then they come to schools

Kate3: Yes, but at a low percentage we only hear them once in a while on radio, TV and Newspapers but how many people follow these? So there should be other follow up coming to reach the common man.

Other teachers suggested that sensitisation was not being carried out by the central government however affirmed such initiatives were evident at district level by departments as well as community initiatives. Some teachers however highlighted that it would make great impact if the Ministry of Education got directly involved in sensitisation programmes in the communities.

Kate 1: No, except that language boardand the language board is beginning to sensitise the parents and teachers and is going from sub county to sub county. But the biggest problem the turn up of parents for those meetings is very poor.And it should may be come from a minister.

NT2: There is nothing it has done, it is not enlightening the community even in the schools however Buganda kingdom is what I have heard on radio.

Lack of or inadequate sensitisation programmes were therefore an aspect captured in the data as impacting greatly on the successful execution of the language policy.

Implementation Planning and Management

The planning and management of the implementation of the mother tongue/area language cannot be detached from policy since they are constantly feeding into each other. The implementation of mother tongue/ area languages began haphazardly apparently without adequate planning. Considering such context in which it was introduced the impact on the successful implementation of mother tongue medium as well as teaching in rural classrooms was significant. Statements from the two teachers below support the above assertion:

Kate3: I believe there is a very big gap between us the implementers and those people who set these policies. Actually I don't think that, to me I don't think we will ever connect if we still move on like this. They set things, implementers do otherwise

Kate1: Let them not leave the work to the DEO[district education officer] because the ministers, the policy makers should come out up to the ground they make it a topic of discussion rather than leaving it to the DEOs, DISs, the head teachers, the teachers.....no! The policy makers who signed the policy should come in to the ground....they should not stop from signing.

The teachers interviewed revealed that this gap between policy and implementation created some difficulties with the implementation process because the policy makers limited their planning to policy formulation.

Departmental supervision and monitoring

The aspect of supervision and monitoring by government departments was observed as a crucial factor impacting on the teachers' implementation of the mother tongue/ area language policy. Head teachers and teachers suggested that the lack of supervision and monitoring by government departments has created a significant hindrance to mother tongue implementation. They regarded the inspections and supervisors as ineffective and inefficient in their work. The teachers attributed this to understaffing, lack of adequate resources, underpayment and logistics to support the supervisors and those monitoring the process. These aspects in turn impacted greatly on classroom practice through teacher absenteeism and hours spent in contact with the learners. The participants also acknowledged that some of the inspectors and monitoring staff are not competent and fluent in the relevant languages. They therefore could not effectively monitor the use of these languages in the classroom. Data from observations also revealed that in the two districts visited some inspectors were from other regions:

KateHT3: ... and inspectors who come there is nothing they can make to change because they are not conversant with the language.

CoT2: The implementation lacks support by the immediate supervisors. On Thursday this week we had UNICEF we have a letter from UNICEF who had come to actually discuss with head teachers to develop a supervision...and we called some model schools but when it came to even explaining what support supervision is we took some time for the head teachers to grasp what was being communicated.

Kate1: the problem is that there are no people from those offices who are coming in to support and ensure that the policy is implemented.

Similar issues were also identified at the district level where teachers also pointed to inadequate supervision, lack of coordination and incompetence among the supervisory staff of the programme. Some educators identified some of these issues arising from the poor management of the decentralisation process at the district level:

KPHT3: Now they even shifted the responsibility from people who are technical to the Gombolola chiefs to appraise us [the head teachers]. Like here the town clerk has never stepped here she came the first time to us [the head teachers] and she has never come back here, that was at least 2-3 years ago.

CoT2: There is a very big problem in support supervision definitely...I was asking the teachers how many of you have been seen by either the inspector of schools or county inspector of schools when teaching, precisely there was none, each sub county has 1 [one] inspector and there is the district inspector of schools. At least once in a while one would say yes...

The aspect of supervision and monitoring appeared to have impacted strongly on the implementation of the mother tongue/ area language policy in the rural schools visited.

Misappropriation of resources

Issues such as nepotism and misappropriation were mentioned by some respondents. A significant minority (5/18) of participants in the study identified corruption as a big challenge in the implementation of the mother tongue/ area language policy along with the thematic curriculum especially at the district level:

CoT2:do you think you will manage these things of the district. First of all, this one brings this, another brings that and you cannot refuse. Now we are not the people

recruiting, it is the education service so you end up recruiting relatives and such kind whether competent or not. And of course you cannot rule out the issue of corruption. Although there is no evidence, you just hear that a job is around Ugx shs 300,000 to 400,000=[job can be bought]. Even they arrested an officer here just last year trying to solicit Ugx shs 600,000= to put somebody on payroll. Then the lady went to CAO and he gave him the money and he was caught red handed.

CDS: These days people [inspectors] come...do you have the log book, do you have the attendance. As he talks, the envelop is on the table *mukama wange!* [My Boss]. And he will say I have a meeting at 2:00PM. He stays a short while, signs a visitor's book and even only stops in the office.

The participant (CDS) was portraying a scenario of how district officials misused and abused their offices to benefit themselves, but also not doing what they were required to do to support the implementation process.

Understaffing

Understaffing or limited personnel was identified as a major challenge. The Ministry of Education has a special directorate called the Directorate of Education Standards which sits in every district. It is meant to ensure quality education and services. However, aspects of supervision, monitoring and inspection in the district seemed to be inadequately carried out in some schools. There was evidence too of lack of coordination among the supervising agencies like inspectors, centre coordinating tutors, language boards and the Directorate of Education Standards. Some participants attributed this mainly to lack of funds and enough manpower to facilitate the implementation activities in the district. District personnel commented:

DIS2: Now for us at times we go to the field in a school for say an hour, 30min or two hours depending on the problems that you have got there. The moment you cross and go to another school these people [teacher] go back to what they are used to...you can even miss to visit some schools in a term or even in a year especially these mushrooming schools. Manpower is another problem.

DEO1: Yes, we do much as we are few, we try in my department we are supposed to be seven (7) but we are four (4) the three (3) are missing and the Centre Coordinating Tutors are supposed to be five(5) but they are four (4). One CCT is operating in two coordinating centres and there are so many schools. So unlike....I mean if it was not that almost all schools would be complying [with the policy]. You may find that some are not complying.

Nonetheless, even in situations where resources were available some inspectors were not competent to oversee the implementation process as one teacher asserted

KateHT3: And even the inspectors, they have not carried out enough inspection as far as that language policy is concerned. And you find that some inspectors are not conversant with the local language so when they come sometimes they don't know what to do.

The participant implied that consideration should be put on area languages when deploying inspectors and monitors in specific areas to actively follow up or make supervision effective.

Inadequate resources

Logistical support/resources were considered as instrumental influences on the implementation process. Some of the educators at the district level like centre coordinating

tutors (CCT) and district inspectors observed that logistics and inadequate resources impacted greatly on the execution of their roles to supervise and facilitate the implementation process. They stressed that the coverage in terms of fuel is inadequate and personal maintenance of the government motorcycles and long distances were major challenges.

CoT2: I have 26 [government schools] of them in my catchment area. We are now failing because there is no facilitation. They now say deal with only 10 schools and see that there is an impact. The ones we call model schools. However that does not stop us from reaching those other schools. Because some head teachers who know what they actually want they call you there and you go. Another head teacher invites you to the school you go there. Teachers escape because they don't want you to ask them or actually give them support because ours is just monitoring and coaching.

Planning and management of the implementation of the mother tongue/area language was identified as a major factor impacting on the implementation process identified in aspects of supervision and monitoring, corruption and misuse of office, resources and under staffing.

Attitudes of Policy Architects and Planners

The attitudes of policy makers were identified by participants as a factor impacting on the implementation process. The successful implementation of the mother-tongue language innovation needs the will and back up of government, political leadership and public bodies to succeed. Some of the participants in the study observed that a number of people did not consider use of local languages in education to be feasible. For example, the Professor of languages at Makerere University stated:

LS2: ...and in our country here there are very few people who are sensitised even when you try to talk, people will start yawning, and am talking about the educated so we have

the problem of the uneducated thinking that their languages are useless and the educated who think that their languages are useless. So it becomes difficult to convince both our authorities here even in our own college that some preference should be given to languages.

Another education specialist (CDS) attributed the impact of attitudes by policy makers as a major challenge saying:

CDS:... because of the attitudes of policy makers, their minds have been corrupted so they cannot decide on things they do not believe in. so their belief is like that.

The participant implied that some of the relevant policy makers did not believe that the local language policy could work, and hence support for the policy was limited. The same respondent suggested that the lack of knowledge or educational background in language and policy issues could explain such attitude among the policy makers:

CDS:as I have told you that in Uganda a person who sits in the place of a policy maker may not be necessarily the one.....sometimes they give us army people, they give us lawyers, they give us engineers to come and be ministers of education. I think it is attitudinal on the way policy makers look at education. How many times have they given a businessman to defence? Bye byoononye ebintu, [this is what has spoilt everything]. So are you going to stand and say this is wrong? When you also want the post? The people they are deciding for us are not ours, you find a doctor deciding on behalf of the teachers and he does not know the plight of teachers yet he is the one to put the last stamp. Then who can you blame?

The above comments indicate that the impact of the mindset or lack of relevant knowledge of some decision makers on the implementation process had partly curtailed the effective implementation of the mother tongue language policy.

Educational Policies

This section focuses on the issues in the education system like curriculum, exams, automatic promotions, and the teaching profession as this impact on the implementation process of area language/ mother tongue in rural classrooms.

The thematic curriculum was identified as a factor impacting on the effective implementation of the policy. The rollout of thematic curriculum was in 2007 in P1 and was successfully completed in 2009 in P3. It emphasised different themes familiar to the learner like people at home, people at school but directed to development of numeracy, literacy and life skills and accessed through a familiar language. This approach promotes a more learner-centred method based on the educational foundation principle of teaching and learning from known to the unknown to facilitate quality education attainment.

The data collected revealed that a good number of teachers were finding challenges in the implementation process due to the translation of the thematic curriculum. The thematic curriculum policy calls for its implementation in the local languages in rural areas however; the curriculum itself was printed in English.

Kate2: we also need the very curriculum, that syllabus it was designed in another language in a foreign language which is English.

NamHT3: Yes, the curriculum is printed in English, you find there are some words in the curriculum which are very difficult to translate in the local language. For example when you are teaching “what is a map?” it is not easy, when you are teaching sets in

mathematics requires you to bring a basket of words for the learner to understand what you mean so those are some of the dilemmas.

KateHT3: And also in our curriculum you can read something and you wonder how you are going to teach it. Because it is in English, which is another hurdle we found. If they want teachers to teach in the local language why did they pass a curriculum in English? They would have written the curriculum in the local language for reference but you find difficulty in writing schemes.

The teachers found it difficult to interpret and translate the curriculum from English to the mother tongue/ area language.

The aspect of teaching the local language is spelt out in the Government White Paper of 1992 that alongside English language as a subject and the local language medium, local languages should be taught as a subject at the lower level of rural primary schools (GoU, 1992). This aspect seemed controversial to teachers using the thematic curriculum of 2007 in the areas the study was carried out. To a majority of teachers the thematic curriculum provided did not provide for the local language as a subject while to others the curriculum did. Thematic curriculum does not include the local language as a subject perhaps because all instruction is meant to be in the local language. In schools like School Ya1 however [Government school], one teacher felt that Luganda [area language] as a subject was a necessity to enhance the medium of instruction. This school had adjusted the curriculum to include the area language as a subject on the timetable. Comments made about the curriculum included:

Kate1: The language policy we have received...like when you are teaching all language areas you are supposed to teach a whole word. Those teachers who receive

children in primary one they teach a whole word but feel somebody cannot keep it for a long time so we introduced to teach Luganda as an independent subject. Here by you can teach through other methods of reading like syllabic to help them master the content because if we teach a whole word at times children may forget especially when you go to the next topic so when you bring the word again without the foundation of syllables. They cannot get the word correctly, so we introduced Luganda as a school.

KP1: When they reach at P4 there is Luganda as a subject but at this level we do not teach Luganda as a subject, we call it reading and writing [literacy 1 and literacy2].

MCT1: They made the curriculum but the challenge is that they did not include Luganda as a subject. For example, ‘okusoma no kuwandika’[reading and writing] you are teaching ‘abantu abokukitundu’,[people of the area] like ‘omusawo’[doctor] and this child is not used to those syllables and when you follow the curriculum they did not include when or where you were to teach those syllables so if they had put Luganda as a subject it would have made our work easier to teach. You teach them for example parts of the body but he/she does not know how to write So, Ma,...

In School Yb1 [Private school], evidence on the time table showed that in the upper classes mother tongue was not taught as a subject. The reason given by one P3 teacher was that there were no teachers to teach it from P4 as a subject. Observations in another government school revealed that according to the timetable, Luganda was taught as a subject up to P7, but from P4 there are no exams administered to assess the performance in Luganda. The teacher said,

KP1: It is only taught because of fear of inspectors; they observe the lessons but do not probe on assessment procedures

Amidst this dilemma, is also the fact that local language as a subject is not examinable at the end of the primary cycle. This fact has created a tendency to disregard it in favour of examinable subjects. Hence local language time was replaced by the examinable subjects, especially English language as a subject, since it is through English medium that the PLE exam is administered. Often local language was displayed on the timetable but it was not being taught in reality. Some teachers indicated that it being not examinable could partly be negatively impacting on the attitudes of the parents. Without it being examinable teachers also missed its value and wondered where it would lead the children when English is emphasised in the upper classes of schooling.

KateHT3: we are teaching it from P3 but at a minimal level...first it is not examined at the national level so it is minimally taught.

DIS1: No... the reason, local language is not examined at P7 or at a national level, it is not examined, so from P4, teachers do not put more emphasis on the local language. They put more emphasis on English from P4 to P7, even the children they also put emphasis on English. And the local language is minimally taught in those classes, P4, P5, P6 and even P7 some schools don't even teach the local language.

The issue of examinations in English at the end of the primary cycle (P7) was revealed as a major hindrance to the implementation process. A big fraction of teachers interviewed wondered why learners began their studies in the local language yet after P4 it ceased as a medium of instruction. They also wondered further why learners' studied local languages at this level when they were not emphasised as subjects after P4 and were not examinable at the final cycle exam (P7). They did not find a reason for the emphasis on mother tongue when it was disregarded in the upper levels to the point that some schools did not teach it as a subject

from P4. Consequently they put more emphasis on English as a medium of instruction rather than the mother tongue/ area language.

KateHT3: Ok, for us here we are encouraging them to use English as their medium of communication, why because most of their exams are set in English and that is why we encourage them to do so.

NamHT3:but from P4 we emphasis English and since we want at least a fair performance we put much emphasis on the examinable subjects

Some participants also observed that the period of using English from P4 as a medium was too short for the learners to be effectively functional at the primary leaving exam and as a result opted to use English as early as possible for the benefit of the learners.

KateHT3:....they don't achieve properly because up to primary four(4), entering primary 4 there is a problem of changing them from their local language to English.

There is a very big problem there and mind you, they are judged in primary seven [7] in English. That is the yardstick. The yardstick for primary is in P7 that is where they are judged and that judgement is in English.

Some teachers however also expressed a need for examinations to be provided with an option in mother tongue to level the ground with urban areas for learners from rural areas. This they claimed would reduce the current tensions resulting from exams and lessen the competition for children among schools. They argued that the same value Government attached to the mother tongue in lower primary school should be the same value at upper primary level by providing an alternative at the primary leaving exam and making mother tongue examinable too.

LS2:in any case I do not see the hurry for jumping into English because English will be there, if you use it as a subject until P7 as a matter of fact many of the subjects at PLE should be set in local languages and English set as a subject. And why not, UNEB [Uganda National Examination Board] has the facilities and resources to translate the exam into the local language and they understand those languages better than they understand English.

Some teachers suggested that such a provision for preference would promote performance and mitigate the unfairness of the exam since some rural children were able to read in the local language but could not comprehend the exam and express the answer in English, even when they knew it in the local language.

Kate1: A child knows something like when you say subject matter he knows, the reason why I am supposed to brush my teeth, but what should I write there? And somebody reads why do we wash our hands with clean water, he can read but getting the response? He knows the response in the local language and when she/ [he] writes it in the local language at PLE [primary leaving exam] it is crossed [cancelled] because Ogwang [non-local language speaker] is the one marking Namutebi [the local language speaker].

CoT1: When they write the end of year exams somebody writes something correct, correct but in local language.....writes the physical features but in Luganda and that is wrong so at the end of the day somebody supposed to get 50% gets 15%. When it comes to the total mark, it is 60/400, so where do you take such person.

In the previous section the issues surrounding educational policy complexities were presented.

In conclusion the study findings built under the four themes of National Language Policies, Implementation Planning and Management, Attitudes towards Multilingualism, and Educational Policies were presented. The study used Bronfenbrenner's bio-ecological model (Process-Person-Context) of human development as the lens for organising and explaining the themes that emerged from the data. The next chapter will present a discussion on the study findings related to some guiding theories and related literature presented in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3.

CHAPTER 6

Discussion and Conclusion

Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss interpretations of the presented findings under four themes that emerged from the study in relation to the three research questions stated at the beginning of the study. The themes are National Language Policies, Implementation Planning and Management, Attitudes towards Multilingualism, and Educational Policies. Links to literature are highlighted and recommendations for the way forward for the implementation of the mother tongue/ area language policy in the rural classrooms of Uganda are considered. In this first section of the chapter, Research Question 1 (RQ1) is discussed, followed by Research Question 3 (RQ3) and finally Research Question 4 (RQ4). The research question 2 (RQ2) was addressed earlier in Chapter 2.

What are the beliefs, attitudes and factors impacting teachers' effective implementation of the mother tongue/area language policy in the rural areas? (RQ1)

National language policies

In line with the National Language Policies, factors such as lack of a clear policy document, statements and goals, difficulty in transferring policies to practice, early switch to English medium, rural-urban language policy conflict, and area language contradictions were identified as major challenges in the implementation of the MT language of instruction in the rural classrooms.

Lack of a clear language policy document

Evidence from the findings indicated that the implementing teachers perceived the policy as imprecise and incoherent in terms of choice of what local language to use, be it mother tongue or area language. This decision was left to the individual districts and communities but without a clarified language document with guidelines to stipulate the process to be followed in identifying the languages to be used. Although rural areas were designated to use mother tongue/area language, contextual differences created dilemmas for the implementing teachers, leading to conflicting interpretations and understandings. As illustrated by participants in Chapter 5, these dilemmas have culminated into aspects of impunity, and enforcement issues. The language-in-education policy seemed to exist outside a legal framework with no statutory legal status in that there seemed to be no distinct law that spelt out how policy planning and policy implementation decisions, rights and procedures are handled in terms of responsibilities and obligations. This lack of clear guidelines incorporated into one policy document was found to be a central factor impacting on teachers' effective implementation of mother tongue policy in the rural areas. Bamgboṣe, (2000) and Walshaw and Anthony (2007) suggested that policies that are clear, coherent and detailed have been more successfully implemented. This in most cases was not found in this study, because the policy statements did not easily and straightforwardly transform into practice perhaps due to lack of detailed language policy document (Mukama, 2009).

The statements from participants may however indicate a deeper issue. The suggestion made by participants that language-in-education decisions were determined by policy-makers with little or no regard to opinions of implementers is relevant. The fact that English is used as a medium of instruction in urban areas has the effect of maintaining the status quo. Those

fluent in English tend to do better in education, leading to greater opportunities. The study revealed that teachers are very much in agreement with this stand point. Yet in some rural areas with similar multi-language conditions to those found in urban areas, like Kayunga, using English does not seem an option in government schools even when it is evident that in some of these areas the area language is not linguistically similar to the MT of some of the learners. The study revealed that such an approach disfavoured both the learners and the teachers with non-similar linguistic backgrounds to the area language. Pflapsen (2015) argued that learners would require less time to learn using a medium of instruction (MoI) that is linguistically similar or related compared to if they are different. Diverse language regions hence need special consideration, especially for non-area language native speakers when implementing the MT language policy. It could also be that in these areas, if such special consideration is not explored then using English is potentially a better option. More so, that implementers at the local level have a very high stake in and must be involved in the process of formulation and planning of policy and implementation.

In addition to the difficulties of implementing the policy, the goals of planners may not be commensurate with the goals as perceived by educators. This notion may have led to some government rural schools and teachers not taking the policy as seriously as intended (Altinyelken, 2010; Baldauf, 1994). The participants expressed a lack of ownership of the policy and implementation process. This lack of ownership is further exacerbated if the policy is deemed irrational and/or impractical to the contexts and educational demands of the implementers as expressed by some participants in the study. This viewpoint correlates with the studies by Rogan (2007) and Walshaw and Anthony (2007) respectively.

The current MT policy seems to reflect a major goal of facilitating a better transition to English language and not necessarily focusing on MT literacy and functionality (Brock-Utne, 2000). Zehlia (2015) argued that learning (education) and learning a language have

different goals and that such goals should be explicitly differentiated and attainment of such goals found. It is therefore pertinent that such a distinction is identified, drawn and goals specified in the policy document otherwise the findings of the study reveal a tendency by stakeholders to confuse the goals of learning English language with actual goals of learning (Education). Zehlia (2015) argued further that learning in a language and learning a language entail two different functions and that combining the two functions leads to slowing down or even stopping the process of learning. This ambiguity was observed among participants in the study in the way they interpreted and implemented the MT policy statements. It can also be argued that such ambiguity could indeed be a contributory factor to the perils in the learning process identified by the participants. Inclusion of implementers such as teachers and local communities in policy planning and clarity on MT policy statement goals may redirect such misguided goals (Ricento, 2000). This standpoint is supported by Trudell et al. (2015) who argued that inclusion of implementers in the policy planning process reflects the language attitudes and goals of the speakers or local communities. This is very significant as argued by Baldauf (1994) since the attitudes and goals held by stakeholders at this level of implementation about language and education determine school language practices as evidenced in the findings.

The aspect of unclear policy statements is also reflected in the conflict observed in rural private schools and government aided schools. The different categories of schools though in similar geographical settings freely used varying medium of instruction (MoI) with little or no government sanction, as described by different educators reported in Chapter 5, Section 2. This fluidity in policy decisions was not supported by some respondents and the inconsistent policy implementation impacted on teachers and schools. This conflict is further intensified by parents' demands for English (Altinyelken et al., 2013). Zehlia (2015) argued that this confusion in language policy implementation is further developed by decisions made

by parents based on imperfect information and what the impacts of such choices are on learning. She asserted that the best way of dealing with this dilemma is to “deflate the myth” held by parents about English MoI for parents to make informed choices. This finding suggests that even when the policy is clear, the government may not enforce it. That lack of a legal framework or willingness to enforce the policy has given way to practice on the ground and could explain in part why implementing teachers have either exhibited failure to notice the intended directives, at times made modifications to these or even rejected them in some instances (Heugh et al., 2007). There is also a need for provision of information to parents in form of advocacy and sensitisation that supports MT medium of instruction.

The difficulty in transferring policies to practice

This aspect was another factor observed to have impacted seriously on the implementation of the MT language policy. Dyer (1999) proposed that deficiency may arise from the fact that the implementation aspect is normally left out by politicians who formulate and view the policy planning process as a prestigious element of political decision-making and not necessarily linked to implementation. Dyer (1999) argued that politicians hold onto a preconceived thinking that decisions made through policy formulation will automatically trickle down to practice and thereby do not see implementation as part of an integral process of policy formulation. The results of the findings support the above assertion reflecting that policy planning is only conceived from the point of view of formulation without consideration of involvement of implementers. As such, the communication chain is not well planned and structured. Implementers did not have appropriate knowledge on how the implementation process is being undertaken. This gap has led to implementation programmes with no realistic timeframes or clear implementation plans.

Other scholars (Bamgboṣe, 2000; Bourdieu, 1996; Coleman, 2005; Rogan, 2007; Sookrajh & Joshua, 2009) attributed such complexities in transferring policies to practice to

quick and rushed agendas by politicians for political capital purposes, especially for electioneering. Using it as a political tool/platform to win votes and consequently honouring pledges with no foundation for readiness to execute the programmes (Ward et al., 2006). This, Ward et al. (2006) argued results in haphazard implementation programmes with no realistic timeframes or clear implementation plans. According to Altinyelken (2010) such unplanned agendas impact negatively on implementers resulting in required implementations not taken seriously.

The early switch at P4 to English

The early switch and the requirement to sit exams in English from P4-P7 were also found to be a significant hindrance in the implementation process. A study by Piper (2010) identified an abrupt switch in MT use that sharply dropped from 76.8% at P3 to 13.2% at P4. This is also affirmed in a similar study by Altinyelken et al. (2013). The teachers in the study exhibited unclear and uninformed understandings on the shift or switch concept and questioned its rationale. This was primarily because after P3 local languages are rendered un-examinable and given less or no emphasis in the upper primary classes. Adding to this complexity, the policy stipulates mother tongue/ area language subjects as non- examinable at end of primary cycle (GoU, 1992, p. 61). Some of the participants felt the switch was too early and put learners at risk since they have not fully acquired functional skills in English. Similar findings were reflected in the study by Piper (2010). Clyne (1986) advised that bilingualism should be stable and lasting rather than transient, cognitively enriching rather than damaging and that it should add English to secure mother tongue but not to replace it. Given these advantages of bilingualism, and relating to the Ugandan context, the mother tongue policy seems to point in a contrary direction (Dorani & Boruch, 2014; Heugh, 2012). This is affirmed by Mohanty, Mishra, Reddy, and Ramesh (2009) when they assert that such an abrupt transition leads to poor educational achievement, reinforces inequality and leads to

capability deprivation. In a related study, Zubeida's (2003) findings in the South African townships found a similar situation where learners would neither acquire English effectively nor develop proficiency in mother tongue. The teachers argued that the switch has not only impacted negatively on mother tongue/area language but disadvantaged their learners academically, created a barrier for their future academic progress as well as effective acquisition of English.

The teachers' fears above are supported by research which suggests that, when another language MoI (English) is introduced from P4 (early), the learner will build another set of basic interpersonal communication skills (BICs) in the new language over time encountering a language shift from language (L1 to L2). This is especially so if the environment does not reinforce the first language/ mother tongue or area language (Alidou et al. 2006; Brock-Utne, 2003; Heugh, 2005). Hence this impending pressure exerted on the mother tongue/ area languages threatens its sustainability. Such threats could explain current trends observed in diminishing intergenerational language transmission in our urban and peri-urban societies (Mohanty et al., 2009). Those that hold this view point (Cummins, 2001; 2008) also advanced that at such a stage the learner has not attained the cognitive academic language proficiency [ability to understand and express in both oral and written form] concepts relevant for success in school (CALP) in the first language at this level. The learners therefore cannot effectively transition to the second language (English). Alidou et al. (2006), Piper et al. (2015) argued that the learner needs to comprehend and construct written language required for proper use in upper classes and also to a level of written texts for the learning of the subjects involved. This is conversely influenced by L1 which usually has not fully developed for use as a MoI when children join school. Piper et al. (2015) advanced that such maturity is attained about the age of 10 years with the emergence of mature speech patterns.

Alidou et al. (2006) disarm the general misconception among scholars and policy makers that the language children come with to the school is well developed for educational challenges. More so, that L1 in such circumstances will facilitate an effective transition to L2. Heugh (2012) suggested that six to eight years of education in mother tongue medium would be beneficial/ ideal for literacy and verbal proficiency for academic achievement, positive impact on second language acquisition as well as retaining and functioning in the first language. Hence, there is a need to critically examine and rethink through the policy, basing it on current research, but also reviewing a historical context of such policy development goals to capture the ideological underpinnings that influence such policy development. Such discussion calls for another study on policy analysis and is therefore beyond the scope of this study.

Rural-Urban policy discrepancy

The findings also show that the discrepancy in policy between urban and rural schools impacted significantly on the implementation of MT medium of instruction. These findings were also identified in the Altinyelken et al. (2013) study. The participating teachers also argued that the difference in policy approach between rural and urban schools disadvantaged rural learners compared with the urban learners who received learning in English throughout school. This observation by the participating teachers was also captured in a study by Walter and Morren (2004) where data supported the hypothesis that language of instruction accounted for most of the observed variation in performance between urban and rural schools. English language, the medium of instruction in urban areas, has supporting resources while the local languages barely have any resources to support their usage. This is demonstrated by a lack of local language books, language competent teachers, and a number of local languages are not developed to a point of being used for classroom/ academic purpose. There are no incentives for motivating the learning and studying of and in the local

languages. Edelsky et al., (1983) advised that such theoretical bases may indeed prove very dangerous to the very children supposed to benefit from them if not well contextualised and supported. Such a policy could also lead to isolation, curtail respect for diversity, and further widen the inequity and inequality gap (Altinyelken et al., 2013).

Area Language contradictions

The identification of ‘area languages’ as referenced in the White Paper (GoU, 1992) and actual present day area languages in some instances are not the same and no longer play similar functions as they did. This aspect was identified by some participants in the study as a major challenge in the implementation of the MT language policy. The literature on the history of education in Uganda identifies 5 area languages imposed by the colonial masters following the outcomes of the 1944 language conference (Bernsten, 1998; Ladefoged, Glick & Criper, 1972; Muthwii & Kioko, 2003; Muzoora, Terry, & Asiimwe, 2013). The same area languages were replicated including the 6th area language of Rumyankole/ Rukiga by the 1992 policy framers. Some of these area languages realistically do not command effective use in the designated areas as when prior imposed and used by and in the interests of the colonial masters. The current area languages in Uganda today embed different goals and mindset vis-à-vis the area languages of 1944. Hence the area languages as put by the Government White Paper (GoU, 1992) exist on paper but not in reality or/and are perceived differently in reality. For example Luganda was perceived as an area language for central and Eastern region but currently in the Eastern region it is not regarded as such (Nabirye & De Schryver, 2010). More so Luganda according to a language expert from Makerere University (LS1) is now part of an area language called Eastern Lacustrine that includes Luganda, Lusoga, Lunyole, Lugweere, Lumasaba and Lusaamya.

Runyankole/Rukiga and Rutoro /Runyoro were considered in the Government White Paper (GoU, 1992) as two area languages but currently all fall under Runyakitara because the social dialects above are linguistically intelligible. As supported by comment from the language expert (LS1) at Makerere University the harmonisation of such languages was done for economically cost effective pedagogical, publishing as well as viable linguistic systems reasons. This contradiction according to the participants has led to confusion and misunderstandings among implementers on the intentions of the area language policy on paper, its viability, historical connotations and its impact on individual mother tongues.

What is important to note here however is that the harmonisation of languages does not mean another language but simply one document (orthography) that guides the writing systems of the different would be dialects. Hence it does not discard the words in the would-be dialects but the dialects can use the one resource orthography rules to write in respective mother tongue varieties (Zehlia, 2015). In that case harmonisation does not disable the mother tongue but enables them to be used in schools in an economically cost effective and sustainable way through cross cultural and cross linguistic learning (Sozinho, 2012). This would promote better understanding, unity, respect and acceptance of each other. In some instances harmonisation could also facilitate regional integration as a result of shared cross border area languages like Runyakitara (Prah, 2003, Bernsten, 1998). This could be through working together on shared linguistic challenges, developing a cross border cultural identity, a bigger voice in advocacy and self-determination, a cross cultural and cross border information exchange process, printing and translations of literature. This would begin to disarm the fears expressed by some participants that feel their mother tongue is threatened by the harmonisation process. The biggest challenge in all this is awareness of the stakeholders to enlighten them out of the pre conceived myth about harmonisation and the benefits of harmonisation of languages. As one educator affirmed this aspect of harmonisation was not

well explained or sensitised to the local community and therefore not a properly understood concept by local implementers. This could explain the uncertainty held by local implementers on what languages to use and the reasons behind using particular languages in some areas.

In summary, the findings under national language policies suggest a lack of consideration of sociolinguistic and socio economic realities when planning for program creation and implementation as well as a lack of involvement of implementers. Paciotto (2010) argues that the central niche of decision making lies with local communities [including direct implementers] and that a lack of it contributes significantly to program failure. Hence the study captures and advocates for a need for inclusive approaches that would inform language planning in both creation and implementation at different levels. A need for vigorous context based research on language practices, perceptions and programmes from macro- to micro-levels including socio-political, socio-economic, socio-cultural linguistic considerations. Such an approach would lead to a much more sustainable program which could address the local conditions and appropriately involve the people who teach and learn within the required general language policy framework.

Educational policies

This section examines some of the educational policy issues - curriculum, exams, automatic promotions and teaching professionalism as a major impact on the implementation process of area language/ mother tongue in rural classrooms. The nature of education policies was one of the themes that emerged prominently in the analysis of the likely factors impacting on the implementation of the local language policy.

Exams policy

The examination policy emphasises English as the medium for examinations at the end of the primary cycle (P7). The teachers who problematized this as an issue observed that the use of local language medium shortens learners' exposure to English thus impacting on their ability to be effectively functional at the primary leaving exam. This was also affirmed in a related study by Altinyelken et al. (2013) Using mother tongue instruction for three years and a switch in primary four to English was, observed by some teachers as good pedagogically but the lack of MT emphasis at the upper primary level made it illogical and baseless. This would explain why some teachers have continued to use English medium as early as possible for the benefit of the learners. Implementers asserted the value Government attaches to the mother tongue in lower primary school should be the same at upper primary level. Some suggested providing an "either or" language alternative at the primary leaving exam and making mother tongue/area language an examinable subject too. This is supported by Pflepsen (2015) who argued that such exams have to be availed in the languages that best allow the learners express what they have learned. The teachers claimed would reduce the current tensions resulting from exams and lessen the competition for children among schools. It would promote performance and mitigate the unfairness of the exam system. Hence, providing a level ground for some rural children that are able to read and write in the local languages but cannot yet comprehend the question set in the English medium exam.

Government demand for quality

The aspect of evaluating learners in an English mediated exam as the only yardstick at the end of primary seven (P7) and government demand for quality in terms of performance was also expressed by participants as having impacted negatively on the implementation of local languages. This aspect is deepened by the fact that the urban learners seem favoured by

the policy since they sit the same exam and access all learning in English medium. Data also reveals that, as much as government pushes for the implementation of the thematic curriculum and use of local languages, its drive for quality in terms of the number of first grades at end of Primary seven (P7) has led head teachers and teachers to frustration (Ssenkaaba, 2012). The teachers see themselves put in a complex situation. Some head teachers have been warned, suspended and at times demoted for poor performances and to cope they have resorted to using English. They attribute such poor performances to time spent learning in and through the local languages. Added to this, is the lack of a supplementary assessment such as continuous assessment to balance with or add to the summative evaluation of the learners. Pflapsen (2015) argued that teacher training programs should emphasise the supplementary assessments to avoid a confusion of English (L2) with content knowledge. A need therefore to re-evaluate the concept of quality both in terms of medium of examination and outcome to the learner by considering changes in conceptualisation of literacy and school success.

Competition among schools

The competition between government and private rural schools and between rural and urban school as well as government's push for higher pass grades has also resulted in the commercialisation of exams in preparation for the final exam. Participants reported that schools engage in buying of standard exams right from P4 either from the urban schools or other organisations to try to develop a certain standard commensurate to the primary leaving exam. Hence schools have replaced examinations in NDLs with individualised school assessment policies (Altinyelken et al., 2013). In addition, something worth noting is that they all are printed in English regardless of context of schools. This commercialisation comes along with standardisation of papers using a yardstick of PLE setting especially at P4. This

according to participants made it more difficult for the learners at this level as a result of using a new medium of instruction and new tasks and methodologies that are abrupt and not easy to cope with in a disguise of preparation for PLE. As such teachers perceive the use of non-dominant languages at this lower level as a hindrance in their pursuit of the attainment of such standards to achieve examination success.

The Thematic Curriculum

The rollout of thematic curriculum that started in 2007 emphasised different themes familiar to the learner. It was directed to development of numeracy, literacy and life skills and accessed through a familiar language. Promoting a more learner centred approach that hinges on the education foundation principles of teaching and learning from known to the unknown to facilitate quality education attainment (Altinyelken, 2010). The thematic curriculum policy calls for its implementation in the local languages in rural areas however the curriculum itself was printed in English. Participants' data revealed that a good number of teachers were meeting challenges in the implementation process due to translation of the thematic curriculum, other teaching literature as well as a difficulty in translating the schemes of work and lesson plans to NDLs. The findings also suggest the curriculum is shallow and demands teachers' creativity perceived as burdensome to some, time allocated to local languages in the curriculum was not sufficient and seemed to impede the implementation process. Pflapsen (2015) argued that there is need to examine the curriculum to align the amount of instructional time through research as a MOI and as subjects so that it is adequate and for learners to attain proficiency for academic learning.

Teaching Profession

Teaching as a profession in Uganda and its status in society has been considered an undesirable profession both by the elite and general society. The profession has lessened in respect over the years with one of the less salaried payments, continued absorption of lower calibre candidates due to the fact that many a time it is taken on as a last resort (Ntambi, 2014). The profession lacks the inspirational pull factors to attract first resort contenders. This argument can further be corroborated by Akaki, a Principal in one of the teacher training colleges (St. Noa Mawaggali Busuubizi Core Primary Teachers College), that the policy of the minimum entry qualification requirement being a pass is weak and affects the quality of teachers. Such teacher situations may too explain why many of the students continue to perform poorly as they advance through school even up to secondary (Ntambi, 2014). Given such conditions therefore, impact on MT implementation would still be affected by quality. Secondly, competent and well-qualified teachers often opt for town schools living a vacuum in rural schools since there are no allowances for working in rural areas. Some participants revealed there were no financial incentives to up skill and growth and as a result some teachers abandoned teaching for other jobs which pay better. Hence a need to uplift quality of the profession by creating a conducive environment that will attract better quality teachers and restore the glory of the profession. Two of the educators however advanced that the quality of teachers is good since they are rigorously passed through a national qualifying system, and are subjected to Kyambogo University exams. These educators argue that the problem emanates outside the confines of training colleges, especially in the schools where they teach. Mr Bukenya the Uganda National Examinations Board (UNEBC) Executive Secretary also concurs with the two educators when he advances that by UNEBC standards “candidates in grade 1, 2, 3 & 4 are deemed to have passed and qualify for further education” (Ahimbisibwe & Kirunda, 2015). The analysis of the executive secretary points to the fact

that there is need to re-evaluate UNEB standards in terms of grading and entry to the teaching profession.

MT teacher policy

The study also found that teacher recruitment processes have not effectively emphasised the aspect of teachers not only coming from within the community but also being competent and fluent in the local languages. Findings in the study show that teachers of MT have largely been identified and posted based on the fact that they are native speakers of the language. Pflapsen (2015) however, argued that speaking the language does not guarantee that teacher can teach the language or in the language since they may not hold the necessary pedagogical vocabulary and literacy levels desired. Some of the mother tongue teachers indeed exhibited a lack of necessary pedagogical vocabulary and literacy levels to teach in NDLs even when they are native speakers. This scenario was worse with some non-native speakers especially teachers whose MT was not socially linguistically and intelligibly similar to the MoI. Similar findings were also captured in a related study by Altinyelken et al. (2013). The majority of teachers in the schools visited especially in the upper primary classes came from different language backgrounds and in some cases could not teach, read and write comfortably through the local languages. This is because the recruitment and deployment policy by the education service commission does not restrict teachers to work in particular areas or communities. The teachers also attained their teacher training in English and were not trained to teach in the NDLs (Altinyelken et al., 2013). Therefore this factor has been found to be a major impediment in implementation of mother tongue medium at all levels. A critical need to train such language teachers to levels of functionality to address the goals or functions for which the policy was planned as well as skilled translation levels to benefit from other languages like English. Hence “developing organic intellectual infrastructure to adopt, translate and retool borrowed knowledge” (Hoppers (2005, p 31). Alternative

approaches to one teacher-one class model can also be improvised like inclusion of partner teaching or providing for P4 teachers intensive training in mother tongue or area languages (Pflepsen, 2015). Re-evaluation of the recruitment and posting policy of teachers from specific communities that speak and are qualified in the very languages as well as restricting or emphasising school district/community zones is necessary. Such approach would also increase on community involvement in school affairs, ownership and equitable redistribution of national resources in education. Otherwise with the current situation of recruitment and nature of language teachers in the rural schools, the aspect of the mother tongue/ area languages serving the functions/goals they are planned drifts further from the reality.

In summary, policy and implementation planning may not facilitate effective implementation without consideration of other education policies since they directly or at times indirectly impact on the implementation of the language-in-education policy.

Implementation planning and management

The planning and management of the implementation of the mother tongue/area language was found to be the biggest hindrance in the effective implementation of the policy. Walshaw and Anthony (2007) advise that focusing on the government systems and organisation structures in which policy is constructed is paramount. The findings reveal a sense of alienation of local level implementers and lack of ownership in policy planning both at a level of creation and implementation. Support systems like training and technical assistance were not well established. The communication chain was not well planned and structured that implementers exhibited a lack of appropriate knowledge on how the implementation process was being undertaken. A detailed discussion has already been done in the previous section. Heugh et al. (2007) advise on the need for clear guidelines and

regulations to be in place alongside policy during formulation to include the possible stakeholders or players, timeframes, budget, monitoring and evaluation components. As a result of lack of such need, the findings affirm the stakeholders' failure at different levels to formulate and initiate implementation strategies (Sookrajh & Joshua, 2009). Consequently teachers have tended to muddle through the process, while adopting ad hoc adjustments amidst frustration and short term coping strategies that dilute the anticipated innovation (Altinyelken, 2010).

Supervision and Monitoring

The aspect of supervision and monitoring of government departments was observed as a crucial factor impacting on the teachers' implementation of the mother tongue/ area language policy. Head teachers and teachers advanced the aspect of supervision and monitoring by government departments as a significant hindrance to mother tongue implementation. They regarded the inspections and supervisors as ineffective and inefficient in their work. The teachers attributed this to understaffing, lack of adequate resources, underpayment and logistics to support the supervisors and those monitoring the process. Similar findings were also captured in a study by Altinyelken et al. (2013). These aspects in turn impact greatly on classroom practice like teacher absenteeism and hours spent in contact with the learners. The participants also acknowledged that some of the inspectors and monitoring staff were not competent and fluent in these languages. They therefore could not effectively monitor the use of these languages in the classroom. Data from observations also revealed that in the two districts visited a section of inspectors were from other regions. Similar issues were also identified at the district level where teachers also point to inadequate supervision, lack of coordination and incompetence among the supervisory staff of the programme. Some educators identify some of these issues arising from the poor management of the decentralisation process at the district level. One participant acknowledged that

inadequate supervision came about due to shifting responsibility from technical staff to political staff like the appraising of head teachers by Gombolola chiefs. Therefore the aspect of supervision and monitoring has impacted largely on the implementation of the mother tongue/ area language policy in the rural schools visited.

Mismanagement of programme resources

Aspects of corruption, misappropriation and nepotism influenced the implementation of government programmes. As much as government has endeavoured to fight such social ills there still exist major challenges to overcome. The issue of corruption was similarly captured at the district level. A total of (5/18) respondents in the study identified corruption as a big challenge in the implementation of the mother tongue/ area language policy along with the thematic curriculum especially at the district level. One participating education officer remarked that the recruitment process in the education service has been marred with nepotism, misappropriation of resources and abuse of office to benefit for self-appropriation all of which impact negatively on the implementation process.

Understaffing

Understaffing or limited personnel was identified as a major challenge. Aspects of supervision, monitoring and inspection at the district level were highlighted as challenges. For the process to work positively for districts a strong coordination among the supervising agencies like inspectors, centre coordinating tutors, language boards and directorate of education standards need to be in place to ensure standards are met and supervision is purposeful. Lack of funds, enough man power and in some cases, the lack of mother tongue/ area language knowledge by district supervisors was highlighted as issues. Such issues are also captured in the study by Altinyelken et al. (2013).

Logistical support

Logistical support/resources were considered as instrumental influences on the implementation process. Some of the educators at the district level; centre coordinating tutors and district inspectors, observed that logistics and inadequate resources impacted greatly on the execution of their roles to supervise and facilitate the implementation process. They stressed that the facilitation in terms of fuel is inadequate, personal maintenance of the government motorcycles and long distances were major challenges.

Planning and management of the implementation of the mother tongue/area language was identified as a major factor impacting on the implementation process identified in aspects of supervision and monitoring, corruption and misuse of office, resources and under staffing. The next section looks at attitudes towards multilingualism.

Attitudes towards Multilingualism

According to Trudell (2010), the colonisation of Africa redefined beliefs and attitudes on development, education and language and still significantly influences people's expectations about themselves. Implying that the tendency of both elite and local community to treat NDLs with suspicion and disdain may well be explained by such mindsets of colonial thinking that has pervaded such minds for decades. This is partly exhibited in the pride in colonial languages and devaluation of African languages and local knowledge and culture by both the elite and the masses (Mamdani, 1996; Mazrui & Mazrui, 1998; Phillipson, 1996; Prah, 2003). Exclusive practices based on English as the medium of instruction formed a class society that was initially non-existent: between the minorities that had access to English language and the non-literate majority that did not have its access. This created different mindsets among the Ugandan populations with the educated and the non-educated alike

devaluing the local languages while looking at English as a language of technology, economic empowerment, wealth and a means to achieving a good life (Twaddle, 2011). This defined power ramifications in redefining the economic and social structure of society. This mindset has gravely impacted on policy implementation of mother tongue/local languages as the medium of instruction in schools. It is therefore pertinent that such attitudes are changed gradually through professional development programmes, experiencing the outcomes of such innovations to realise their potential and civic education programmes.

The successful implementation of the mother-tongue language innovation needs the will and back up of government, political leadership and public bodies to succeed. Some of the participants in the study observed that a number of people did not consider use of local languages in education to be feasible let alone the elite or the architects themselves of such policies. For example, a Professor of Languages at Makerere University commented that some of the relevant policy makers did not believe that the local language policy could work, and hence support for the policy was limited

Another education officer suggested that the lack of knowledge, educational background in language, and policy issues could explain attitudes among the policy makers. The comments indicate that the impact of the mindset of some decision makers on the implementation process has partly curtailed the effective implementation of the mother tongue language policy. There is a need therefore to involve all stakeholders in policy planning (formulation and implementation).

The same resistance has also been exerted by rural parents. A number of rural parents view their vernacular languages as useless, with no value and of no educational benefit. They view the use of NDLs in rural classrooms as a ploy to deny their children the competitive economic and social benefits of education, such as good employment and a better social

lifestyle (Altinyelken et al., 2013). In their quest for English medium as an instrument for or path to better employment and life for their children, however, they perpetuate and reinforce the cycles of their own marginalisation and exclusion.

Some teachers asserted that some parents have preconceived understanding that speaking English is being educated. They have a general assumption that people who speak better English are the most learned, are the people who understand and who can do things better than those that use local languages. Parents, according to these teachers have not understood why the local language is very important to the child right from nursery to university. Added to that, they wonder why MT medium is restricted to only their rural children and is non- examinable in upper classes and at primary leaving exams (PLE) hence not giving purpose and reason for use as a medium of instruction in school. Such comments by teachers affirm and depict that parents' attitudes correlate speaking good English with learning (numeracy and literacy skills). In other words, the parents do not see the role played by English in the classroom taken over by local languages. This in turn impacts on teachers' effective implementation since the communities that send their children to school do not support the policy on local languages. It is important to understand why parents seem to exhibit a form of resistance to local language medium in the classroom without necessarily branding their resistance in a negative sense. A head teacher from one private school visited justified that parents' attitudes are real and authentic. She argued that if English is not emphasised learners will not be absorbed in higher institutions of learning and later on in the job market. Parents want their children to have a bright future and that the reality is to excel in academics, English being a perquisite which they do not see with local languages. English medium of instruction is equated to better employment, better salaries and a comfortable life style which in fact many of these parents do not enjoy because of lack of access to the very language (English) and education in general (Altinyelken et al., 2013, Ferguson, 2013). The

above discussion on parents' tendency to private schools due to English medium seems to show fears, contradictions and uncertainties of a system that disadvantages their children while favouring those that have access to English. This lack of support impacted greatly on teachers' implementation of the programme.

At a teacher level, the understanding, interpretation and implementation initiatives of teachers were found to be influenced by the personal factors such as teacher beliefs and attitudes, professional and knowledge background as well as teacher dispositions as well as institutional (school) factors. This is corroborated by Creese, (2010) who advanced that:

Individually and collectively teachers within their school communities will operate policy according to their local contexts, experiences and values even where there is a strong element of statutory compliance. ... but in an interactive frame which involves their own localised communities. (p. 34)

At a teacher level, findings from data collected suggest that teachers that had a professional experience and/or education background in mother tongue/ area languages exhibited confidence and support of the implementation compared to teachers that did not have any mother tongue/area language professional background. Similarly, data emerging from the findings also was suggestive of the fact that the age component played a crucial influence in determining the direction of the mother tongue/ area language implementation.

The data revealed that the younger generation teachers, especially those that did not have access to the local languages in school, appeared to exhibit negative tendencies. Conversely, older teachers seemed to applaud and support the use of mother tongue/area languages.

At an institutional level (school), outcomes from the study point to the fact that schools that had the administration (head teachers) that believed and were positively inclined to the mother tongue policy influenced teachers' implementation positively compared to those head teachers that did not believe in the policy.

The aspect of teachers' ethnicity or capacity to deal with learners from diverse linguistic backgrounds impacted on the implementation process. Teachers that taught learners with wide variety of ethnicity or language backgrounds seemed to meet greater challenges in implementation of the mother tongue policy in the classroom. Such teachers perceive linguistic diversity in the classroom as a hindrance to teaching and learning. This is also captured in a related study (Jones & Barkhuizen, 2011) as a source of tension for implementing teachers among Sabao teachers in Kenya. Further research into teaching methods that would allow for teachers to manage such linguistically diverse classrooms would be beneficial.

Data also revealed a general trend in teacher attitudes towards language teaching and learning. This trend depicted tensions among the lower and upper level teachers. The upper primary class teachers looked at the lower class teachers as inferior because of teaching in the local languages and so did the learners. Teacher comments highlighted the undermining and disrespect of infant level teachers, who use the MT medium in class. These tensions provide support for the absence of local languages at the upper primary level.

This first section of Chapter 6 has discussed the factors impacting upon teacher implementation of mother tongue/ area language under the themes that emerged in the study. The next section of the chapter discusses the reality of how the teachers actually implement the mother tongue/ area language in the rural classrooms.

How do the teachers actually implement this policy in reality in the classroom? (RQ3)

This section moves the focus away from external factors that affect teachers' implementation of the MT policy to micro level language planning and in particular to teachers' decision making processes in the classroom. Teachers, as major players in the implementation process, have been found crucial in determining the success or failure of such programmes (Creese, 2010; Creese & Martin, 2003). This section discusses the second research question - how the teachers actually implemented this policy in reality in the classroom. In understanding teachers' practice, an investigation on how teachers interpreted the directives of the official policy was carried out. The impact of classroom resources, policy guidelines, the diverse language backgrounds of learners, and language teaching training of native speakers on the implementation process were also issues of concern. Focus was put on this further investigation because most of the literature on language-in-education implementation does not explore such dilemmas or tensions and how they are managed at school or classroom level. Secondly such classroom data contributed to understanding the implementation process and language policies.

The implementation of language policies positions teachers to make decisions that may contradict or threaten their ethos, beliefs and teaching goals. This creates tensions towards the policy. These tensions pose pressures for teachers especially in terms of policies requirements and the actual reality of the contexts within which they are implemented. The findings revealed that much as there was a general macro language policy in schools, teachers also hold particular school language policies, beliefs and at times even teachers initiated language policies in the classroom (Creese, 2010; Grant 1999). Such initiatives by teachers and schools operated as coping mechanisms that strike a balance in trying to fulfil the requirements or demands of policy implementation (Franken & August, 2011). At the same

time this is also done to sustain their goals of teaching, ethos and beliefs as well as the teaching context and output. For example in some areas of Kayunga district evidence showed majority learners and teachers were not conversant with the language of the catchment area for classroom use but still instructed in the area language. Most importantly, there seemed no pre-planned guidelines for teachers in handling such tensions. Teachers individually found solutions in trying to cope with the tensions created by policy demands. These included:

Language use management

The management and control of language use both in the classroom and in the school compound was a significant factor in the implementation process. Observations carried out in the school revealed that reinforcements applied to curtail frequent use of the local languages were not always supportive to learners. It is important to consider the need for the non-dominant languages to be taught positively as the teachers work towards preparing learners for English.

Some schools observations revealed that much as teachers especially at infant level utilised MT medium in the classroom, they still tended to emphasise English. This was the same with languages spoken in the compound but with a bit of relative laxity. It could be observed that much as the teachers supported MT medium, constraints made them quite uncomfortable in believing that it was the best for children's learning success. Zehlia (2015) also identified similar techniques used by Tanzanian teachers to limit use of Kiswahili for English in the classrooms. A sense of freedom to use the local language is still minimal in some of schools visited, except for two government schools. This coping mechanism by teachers creates a paradox in that the very MT teachers meant to promote MT use and literacy are the ones curtailing it. This made learners feel the local languages were of no value, associating them with punishments. This also demotivated learners to read and write in the local language and impacted on their self-esteem when associated with the local language.

Others teachers however asserted that instead of negative reinforcements they were rather encouraging their students through positive reinforcements like counselling and cautioning them. The above position taken by some teachers seems to show a deficiency in English learning attributed to less time and the influence of the English exams. This stand point indeed emphasises the confusion teachers hold on the goals of learning and learning a language. This is also captured and emphasised by Zehlia (2015) in her study in Tanzania when she asserts that; “The confusion between learning English and getting a good education is so strong that this inhibits the country’s education system and the county’s development” (p. 104).

In the above context it is evident that learners are exposed to English not as second language but rather as native speakers and the methodologies that go with it. There is therefore a need to conceptualise and separate the objectives of the two and thereby derive appropriate ways of achieving the varied objectives especially considering that learners in such contexts use English as a second language (ESL).

Demonstration and signs

Demonstration or use of signs was one method observed in an effort to allow all learners to understand content, especially considering the linguistic heterogeneity of learners. The comment by a head teacher (KPHT3) affirmed this:

OK, it’s a bit tricky that in a way you are dealing with somebody who does not understand you and you want him to understand and when you are teaching more especially from baby class or any new comer who has come, one (1), sign language has to accompany. ...yes, as I am teaching my whole body is teaching and we normally tell them through sign language to look at me when teaching. If I say ‘jumping’ I have to put the action of jumping to accompany it. The word, the action so that the learner relates the word to the action, that’s what we

normally do as we write. At the end of the day after a year somebody will be able to understand but answering back becomes a problem, to talk or to answer becomes a problem.

Such classroom situations depicted the contradictions and frustrations teachers encountered in teaching learners with diverse language backgrounds. In their efforts to overcome such constraints and promote learning in the classroom they engaged in demonstrations and use of signs.

Code switching and mixing

The fact that learners had diverse language backgrounds made teachers experience tensions when implementing the non-dominant languages policy. In dealing with such tensions and yet driven by the desire for learners to understand the content, teachers switched from one language to another mostly to emphasise what was said. This pedagogic practice of using two languages concurrently in the classroom or “translanguaging” by multilingual speakers was used to promote understanding of subject matter, maximise learning and facilitate the development of a weaker language (Makalela, 2013). Translanguaging is divided into two categories of code switching and mixing (Brock-Utne & Holmarsdottir, 2004). Brock-Utne & Holmarsdottir (2004) defined code-switching as a switch in language that takes place between sentences, also called an intersentential change; and code-mixing as the switch in language that takes place within the same sentence also called an intrasentential change. This however seemed to create a situation of repetition or resounding of what the teacher said, reflecting a sense of dullness and monotony in the classroom. This also seemed to encourage rote learning, however one head teacher asserted they compromised the language policy of MT and used both languages in the classroom to assist their learners to better understand the concepts. Teachers utilised code switching and mixing for aiding

learners' understanding, classroom control and at times emphasis of some concepts, issues, caution or discipline among learners. It was, in a way, breaking barriers to effectively pass on the information or impact the learner more deeply by reinforcing a concept in two languages. This rejects the arguments by some scholars that translanguaging causes mental confusion (Baker, 2011).

Double language classes and exams

Coping with diverse language backgrounds of learners, teachers in one school separated children who came from other areas as boarding pupils. These pupils were taught in and examined in English while those from the community were taught in the area language and examined in the area language. In the first government school visited in Mpigi (Ya1), it was observed at P1 and later at nursery levels, that there were two streams of the same class with one using English medium and another that used local language medium. The explanation for this dichotomy was that some children come from urban areas and were in the boarding section, and provide a financial contribution. Such children were instructed in English right from nursery to P7 but had access to the local language as a subject. On the other hand those that accessed the curriculum in the local language medium from Nursery to P3 were from the locality and were therefore day studying pupils. It was however further observed that even with such a divide, mixing was apparent in the local language classroom with constant code switching and code mixing. One teacher revealed this was done to favour the mother tongue medium pupils to help them develop English skills needed at P4.

In some of the other schools visited, some teachers taught some subjects in English while other subjects were taught in the local language at this infant level (P1-P3). One teacher acknowledged school language policy that was in contradiction with the overall policy in the

policy statements because teachers were meeting problems with teaching in Luganda (area language).

Teaching in local languages but providing notes in English

The approach of teaching in the area language and provide notes in English was supported by one of the teachers to avoid the challenges to the teachers and learners of using English only as a medium of instruction. The approach was also justified by the fact that most children do not go through nursery school and hardly learn anything when subjects are taught in English. As a result, some teachers in some schools have opted to teach in the local language but provide notes in English. When prompted further, one teacher asserted that it was all done for the benefit of the learners. This however only seemed to be a way of escapism for some teachers by avoiding to write and read in the local language. This may have been as a result of them not being competent in the local language and not wanting to look awkward in front of their pupils. Perhaps, as the teaching was using English textbooks, they could not easily translate the English words to the local language

In conclusion, this section revealed that teachers have individually created strategies as a result of the different factors impacting on the implementation process to cope and manage frustrations and dilemmas that arise in the multilingual classrooms. In their dealing with such pressures and frustrations, they reflected on their ideas of teaching to consider how best to provide appropriate learning experiences for their learners in a multilingual context that would be successful. Consequently they employed strategies like code switching and mixing, devised their own language teaching approaches and safe teaching practices to cope with through the implementation process.

What measures has the ministry of education taken in addressing attitudes towards the implementation of the policy among the stakeholders? (RQ4)

The previous section looked at how teachers were implementing the policy in the rural classrooms amidst challenges. This section of the chapter explores the third research question. It investigates, through teachers' views, the Ministry of Education's role in influencing the attitudes of those negative to the policy. This was done in response to a recommendation from a baseline study by Curriculum Development Centre on the thematic curriculum and local languages in 2008. The recommendation called for advocacy at the policy level, to address the attitudes of various stakeholders towards the issue of local languages in education. The key stakeholders identified in this study in the implementation of the rural language policy included the Ministry of Education representatives at the district level, schools, teachers and the community. The study investigated teachers to find out if the Ministry of Education had prioritised addressing the attitudes of various stakeholders to support the policy through data generated using interviews.

The findings revealed contrasting views of teachers of how the Ministry of Education had been involved in the advocacy and educational programmes within their communities on mother tongue policy. Out of the total number of 18 teachers interviewed 11 teachers responded with 'NO' response to the question 22, "Has Government been significant in influencing stakeholder attitudes on mother tongue language policy in the rural classrooms?" This was collaborated by the findings in a study carried out by Literacy and adult Basic Education (LBE) in Northern Uganda in 2009 that suggested that most stakeholders did not support the policy on promotion on use of mother tongue as a medium of instruction in schools (Heugh, 2013).

Among the teachers interviewed some accepted that some dissemination had been available in schools supported by district officials, at the district by ministry representatives as well as NGOs. This support did not necessarily reach the parent communities though. Some teachers also attributed the poor attitudes among parents to lack of the ministry's involvement in dissemination at community level. The comments made by the participants forecasted that not sensitising the communities to the importance of mother tongue had contributed greatly in frustrating the implementation process. It should also be noted that active work was witnessed at the district level. This was by the district and the area language boards as well as some non-governmental organisations, especially those that were affected by war and civil conflicts. Such areas, where involvement of NGOs was apparent report increased community sensitisation and increased support of MT by such communities (Mango Tree literacy project, UNICEF, LABE, SIL) (Heugh, 2013). This implies that if dissemination was effectively carried out in all communities this would greatly support the MT implementation.

Some teachers also argued that media campaigns, tailored to communities, may not be effective as many people were poor and could not afford the technology to access the information. Teachers suggested face to face dialogue as a medium to access the local communities.

They [Government] have a person heading the education department in these communities at LC1 [Local Council 1, the lowest political unit] but I have never seen such intervention to explain the language policy. But maybe when they use the radios they think people get these things but most people in the villages are poor they do not even have a radio and sometimes the programme may be there but they are in the garden.

The teacher (Kate2) above implied that the local leaders at the lowest political units and nearest to the populace did not engage or carry out intervention programmes but left messages only to be attained through media which were not accessible to many.

Out of the 18 teachers interviewed some affirmed that the Ministry of Education dissemination activities carried out in some of their communities and schools were minor with very little impact. Teachers acknowledged generally that government had tried to work with communities but not enough had been done. Some participants attributed this low pace by government in carrying out programmes on mother tongue to lack of funding. The above comments depict dissemination as a major factor impacting on teacher implementation. A smaller section of participants (4) however argued that the Ministry of Education had carried out some dissemination and advocacy through avenues such as holding dialogues with communities to talk about government policies in education. The four participants had answered in the affirmative to the question 25, “Has Government been significant in influencing stakeholder attitudes on mother tongue language policy in the rural classrooms?”

In a nutshell, the interviews revealed that a limited amount of activities had been carried out by the Ministry of Education among stakeholders to promote positive and supportive attitudes to the language policy

Conclusion and Recommendations

The study in exploring the perils and promises of the implementation of the MT/ area language implementation in Uganda drew from the themes of National Language Policies, Educational policies, and management of implementation and attitudes towards multilingualism as major factors impacting on the successful implementation of the policy. The study viewed the issue of language-in-education from an ecological approach that included other factors other than language as a MoI alone. The study revealed that much as there were identifiable promises in form of positive gains in mind set and practical realities, such positive gains were minimal.

The study revealed that the uncritical execution of the policy and implementation continued to disadvantage rural pupils psychologically, socially and pedagogically. This implies that acquisition of such languages (NDL) and their use in the classroom had still not yet fully acquired the desired outcomes. The process of acquiring NDLs and their use had not ultimately achieved stable and lasting multilingual as well as cognitively enriching effects. In fact, the study revealed that at higher levels of primary school, the switch to English in the current model seems not to secure MT nor does it replace it but leaves the rural learner with deficiencies in both English and mother tongue. The findings of the study suggest a lack of consideration of sociolinguistic and socio economic realities when planning for program creation and implementation as well as a lack of involvement of implementers.

The continued drive to push for such unyielding approach or failure to contextualise it suit the users of such languages(NDLs) corroborates the literature in the earlier chapters that such approach could indeed embed a hidden dimension of foreign interest rather than those of the users. Hence the study captures and advocates for a need for inclusive approaches as well as a legal framework that would inform language planning in both creation and

implementation at different levels. There is a need for vigorous context based research on language practices, perceptions and programmes from macro- to micro-levels including socio-political, socio-economic, socio-cultural linguistic considerations.

The study calls on policy practitioners to reflect on the goals and intentions of the MT policy and re-examine the appropriate models that best reflect the outcomes of such goals. The current model of transitioning at P4 even when supported by research from the North (developed nations), donors and other organisations continues to unveil itself as a malignant cyst in Uganda's education system. In some areas however, where such non-governmental organisations have engaged in MT activities in education, positive results have been reported using the same model. It would therefore be important to have further research in this area to unveil the positive aspects of such connections to curtail the prevailing tensions.

At a broader level, identified research studies in the South align with the findings of the study that such a model yields cognitive difficulty, less L1 acquisition for learners to fall back on, has a subtractive effect on mother tongue and poor English proficiency skills. The study provides data that suggests a focus should be on how best to cultivate multilingual skills for local, regional and international contexts (NDLs, Kiswahili and English). NDLs can only serve their functions if they are positioned in models that expose them to learners for longer periods to attain multilingual skills. Such an approach would promote stable, lasting, cognitively enriching benefits of multilingualism. It would not only add English medium to secure MT but would also secure English and more languages like Kiswahili. Such an approach would lead to a much more sustainable program which could address the local conditions and appropriately involve the people who teach and learn within the required general language policy framework. The role of higher education in promoting the local languages in academia and society could be explored further through research to support the NDL base like NDLs conferences in local languages, NDLs journals and promotion of

elocution activities like quiz at Primary, secondary and post-secondary school competitions in NDLs. This could also be in areas such as affirmative action in local languages by offering incentives, scholarship and loans for those pursuing local languages at the University. At a macro-level, provision of regulatory protection measures in instances of unfair discrimination as well as anti-discriminatory measures for equality for all languages would be vital. This would put the policy of MT in a legal framework that regulates the implementation process in compliance with the law. Finally, since literacy in a cultural system is a pointer to the development capacity of the language, development and exploitation of local knowledge is fundamental for societal development. It is pertinent NDLs have to be well developed through research to be better repositories of such cultural and local knowledge hence emphasis of local knowledge like riddles, folklore, history, medicine, morality are vital in the curriculum. English on the other hand should be taught by well qualified English teachers for attainment of communicative effectiveness rather than mastery for effective participatory citizenship. This could be achieved through attitude change, promotion of own culture in English language teaching programmes, production of local text and teaching materials. At present, the implementation of the mother tongue/area language policy is uneven across the country resulting in unintended inequities or perils. For the future Ugandan learners and teachers it will be imperative to address these issues for the ongoing development of the education system and the country.

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Appendix 1: Ethics Approval

Social Science Ethics Officer
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Katherine.Shaw@utas.edu.au



HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (TASMANIA) NETWORK

28 June 2013

Assoc Prof Rosemary Callingham
Faculty of Education
Locked Bag 1307

Student Researcher: Michael Muzoora

Sent via email

Dear Assoc Prof Callingham

Re: FULL ETHICS APPLICATION APPROVAL
Ethics Ref: **H0013095 - Peril or Promise: The realities of the implementation of mother tongue/area language policy in the rural primary classrooms of Uganda**

We are pleased to advise that the Tasmania Social Sciences Human Research Ethics Committee approved the above project on 29 May 2013.

This approval constitutes ethical clearance by the Tasmania Social Sciences Human Research Ethics Committee. The decision and authority to commence the associated research may be dependent on factors beyond the remit of the ethics review process. For example, your research may need ethics clearance from other organisations or review by your research governance coordinator or Head of Department. It is your responsibility to find out if the approval of other bodies or authorities is required. It is recommended that the proposed research should not commence until you have satisfied these requirements.

Please note that this approval is for four years and is conditional upon receipt of an annual Progress Report. Ethics approval for this project will lapse if a Progress Report is not submitted.

The following conditions apply to this approval. Failure to abide by these conditions may result in suspension or discontinuation of approval.

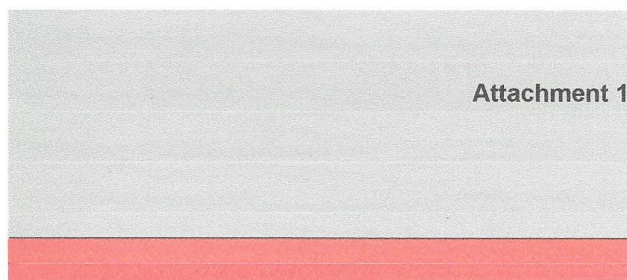
1. It is the responsibility of the Chief Investigator to ensure that all investigators are aware of the terms of approval, to ensure the project is conducted as approved by the Ethics Committee, and to notify the Committee if any investigators are added to, or cease involvement with, the project.

2. Complaints: If any complaints are received or ethical issues arise during the course of the project, investigators should advise the Executive Officer of the Ethics Committee on 03 6226 7479 or human.ethics@utas.edu.au.
3. Incidents or adverse effects: Investigators should notify the Ethics Committee immediately of any serious or unexpected adverse effects on participants or unforeseen events affecting the ethical acceptability of the project.
4. Amendments to Project: Modifications to the project must not proceed until approval is obtained from the Ethics Committee. Please submit an Amendment Form (available on our website) to notify the Ethics Committee of the proposed modifications.
5. Annual Report: Continued approval for this project is dependent on the submission of a Progress Report by the anniversary date of your approval. You will be sent a courtesy reminder closer to this date. **Failure to submit a Progress Report will mean that ethics approval for this project will lapse.**
6. Final Report: A Final Report and a copy of any published material arising from the project, either in full or abstract, must be provided at the end of the project.

Yours sincerely

Katherine Shaw
Ethics Officer
Tasmania Social Sciences HREC

Appendix 2: Information Sheet for Educators



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SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

Peril or Promise: The realities of the implementation of mother tongue/area language policy in the rural primary school classrooms of Uganda

This information sheet is for educators invited to participate in the study

Invitation

You are hereby invited to participate in the study on the implementation of mother tongue/area language policy in rural classrooms of Uganda.

The study will be carried out by Muzoora Michael, a PhD student in education at the University of Tasmania in Australia, being conducted in partial fulfilment of a PhD degree under the supervision of Assoc. Prof. Rosemary Callingham and Dr. Greg Ashman.

Before you decide to participate in this study, it is important that you understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. If there is anything that is not clear, or if you need more information please do not hesitate to ask the researcher (Muzoora Michael).

What is the purpose of this study?

This study will investigate the realities of the implementation of mother tongue/area languages policy in the rural classrooms of Bushenyi and Mpigi districts. It will explore the dispositions, views and attitudes of the rural teachers towards the policy design and policy implementation. It will also explore Government's role in effecting attitude change among stakeholders to support the policy and policy implementation of mother tongue/area language policy.

Why have I been invited to participate?

You have been selected to participate in the study because your school was identified as a potential candidate for the study. Since the study is interested in the issues affecting mother tongue instruction, as a mother tongue/area language teacher at this level (P1-P3) or/and as a primary teacher in general, you are invited to participate because you are well placed to talk about the policy and relevant for this study since you are a direct implementer of the policy in the classroom. Your participation is however voluntary, with no consequences should you decline the invitation.

What will I be asked to do?

You will be asked to participate in an interview lasting about an hour to answer some questions on aspects of language policy in education; informal discussions on how you are actually implementing the policy will also be held generating your views and opinions on the language situation in the classroom. You will also have an opportunity to review and make corrections on a transcript if you so wish to ascertain that what has been recorded is what you actually intended.

Observations will also be carried out both in the classroom and outside the classroom to capture information that could help best answer the study questions.

Pictures will be taken but only to capture the classroom and school environment but will not include people.

The research will be carried out in the school and it will not in any way disrupt your school functions. The researcher will be in the school for two weeks period during which data will be collected. During interviews, audio recordings will be made but only for the purposes of the study.

The hard copies of transcripts and audio tapes will be stored in safe bags with locks and on Mysite UTas cloud facility while in the field and later on the Launceston campus, University of Tasmania in locked cabinets accessible only by the researcher.

Names and other identifying information will be removed from these data and replaced with codes and pseudonyms. Computer files will be password protected and secured on a server at the University of Tasmania. At the completion of the study, all transcripts and field notes will be shredded.

After 5 years from publication of the report, data will be destroyed with computer files deleted and audio tapes destroyed.

Are there any possible benefits from participation in this study?

It is anticipated that you will benefit as a result of your participation in the following ways;

As a participant in the study you will increase on your understanding of the subject matter (education language policy and implementation) derived from the discussions you will be engaged in with the researcher for the two weeks.

The fact that you will be engaged in a study that will be published and disseminated, adding to the body of knowledge out there is in itself a benefit since the study voices your contributions outside the confines of the classroom and school in general.

It is also anticipated that you will be better equipped in dealing with the dilemmas encountered by teachers in implementation of language policy after the study due to the interactions with the researcher who pauses to have some wider knowledge in the study. This, the researcher, feels will offer greater confidence to you when executing the implementation process.

Are there any possible risks from participation in this study?

The study is considered to be of low risk. You are very unlikely to experience any adverse effects as a result of participating. If any aspect of unanticipated discomfort arises, you are at liberty to withdraw from the study with no explanation or consequences at any time.

If you do withdraw from the study, your data will be isolated and destroyed before you in the space of the two weeks in the school. Beyond this point however it may not be possible to remove all of your data from the study because identifiers will be removed when the interviews are transcribed. Individual data will not therefore be identifiable. During the duration of the study, data will be stored using the data storage facility at the University of Tasmania with a password lock. The data will be stored by the University of Tasmania for 5 years after which it will be destroyed.

How will the results of the study be published?

Findings from the research study will be disseminated at conferences and in journal publications. A summary of results will be sent to you upon request. As previously mentioned you will not be identifiable in the publication of results from the study. However a hard copy can also be provided to each school that participated, upon request.

What if I have questions about this study?


For any questions or enquiries related to the study you can e-mail: mmuzoora@utas.edu.au, Greg.Ashman@utas.edu.au and Rosemary.Callingham@utas.edu.au

This study has been approved by the Tasmanian Social Sciences Human Research Ethics Committee. If you have concerns or complaints about the conduct of this study, please contact the Executive Officer of the HREC (Tasmania) Network on +61 6226 7479 or email human.ethics@utas.edu.au. The Executive Officer is the person nominated to receive complaints from research participants.

Please keep this information sheet and sign the attached consent form to be involved in the study. .

Thank You for your participation

Appendix 3: Consent form for teachers

| | |
|--|---|
| Attachment 2 Private Bag 1307 Launceston Tasmania 7250 Australia Phone (03) 6324 3265 Fax (03) 6324 3048 www.utas.edu.au |  |
| SCHOOL OF EDUCATION | |

Peril or Promise: The realities of the implementation of mother tongue/area language in the rural primary school classrooms of Uganda

UNIVERSITY OF TASMANIA

This consent form is for teachers who are invited to participate in the research study

I agree to take part in the research study named above.

1. I have read and understood the Information Sheet for this study.
2. The nature and possible effects of the study have been explained to me.
3. I understand that the study involves the participation of individuals who will participate voluntarily in the study for a two week period. I understand that the participant will be asked to participate in interviews; observations will be carried out with informal interactions where possible. I also understand that audio taping will be used in interviews but I have my freedom not to be taped if I so wish. And that if audio taped I have an opportunity to review the taped recording if I wish.
4. I understand that participation may involve some degree of risk arising from participation in interviews and observations with a relatively unknown person. But am sure the study has been communicated to be genuine and relevant and I feel my contribution to it will be of benefit to me and the school.
5. I understand that all research data will be securely stored on the education Institute, University of Tasmania premises for five years from the publication of the study results, and will then be destroyed.
6. Any questions that I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction.
7. I understand that the researcher will maintain confidentiality and that any information I supply to the researcher will be used only for the purposes of the research.
8. I understand that the results of the study will be published so that I cannot be identified as a participant.
9. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I may withdraw at any time without any effect.

If I so wish, I may request that any data I have supplied be withdrawn from the research during the two weeks. or I understand that I will not be able to withdraw my data after completing the study since it will be collected anonymously.

Participant's name:

Participant's signature: _____

Date: _____

Statement by Investigator

☐

I have explained the project and the implications of participation in it to this volunteer and I believe that the consent is informed and that he/she understands the implications of participation.

If the Investigator has not had an opportunity to talk to participants prior to them participating, the following must be ticked.

☐

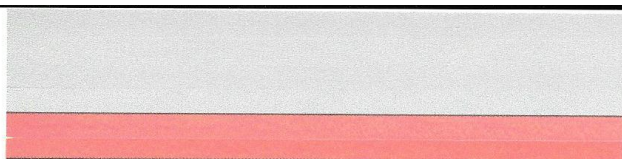
The participant has received the Information Sheet where my details have been provided so participants have had the opportunity to contact me prior to consenting to participate in this project.

Investigator's name: _____

Investigator's signature: _____

Date: _____

Appendix 4: Project Information sheet for Head teachers



Private Bag 1307 Launceston
Tasmania 7250 Australia
Phone +613 6324 3265 Fax +613 6324 3048
www.utas.edu.au

SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

Peril or Promise: The realities of the implementation of mother tongue/area language policy in the rural primary school classrooms of Uganda

Dear Head Teacher,

RE: INFORMATION SHEET FOR HEAD TEACHERS

Invitation

You are hereby invited to participate in the study on the implementation of mother tongue/area language policy in rural classrooms of Uganda.

The study will be carried out by Muzoora Michael, a PhD student in education at the University of Tasmania in Australia, being conducted in partial fulfilment of a PhD degree under the supervision of Assoc. Prof. Rosemary Callingham and Dr. Greg Ashman.

Before you decide to participate in this study, it is important that you understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. If there is anything that is not clear, or if you need more information please do not hesitate to ask the researcher (Muzoora Michael)

What is the purpose of this study?

This study will investigate the realities of the implementation of mother tongue/area languages policy in the rural classrooms of Kayunga and Mpigi districts. It will explore the dispositions, views and attitudes of the rural teachers towards the policy design and policy implementation. It will also explore Government's role in effecting attitude change among stakeholders to support the policy and policy implementation of mother tongue/area language policy.

Why have I been invited to participate?

You have been selected to participate in the study because you were identified as a potential candidate for the study. Since the study is interested in the issues affecting mother tongue instruction, as a primary school head teacher, you are invited to participate because you are well placed to talk about the policy and relevant for this study since you are a direct implementer of the policy in the school. Your participation is however voluntary, with no consequences should you decline the invitation.

What will I be asked to do?

You will be asked to participate in an interview lasting about an hour to answer some questions on aspects of language policy in education; informal discussions on how you are actually implementing the policy will also be held generating your views and opinions on the language situation in the classroom. You will also have an opportunity to review and make corrections on a transcript if you so wish to ascertain that what has been recorded is what you actually intended.

Observations will also be carried out both formally (in the classroom setting) and informally (outside the classroom setting) to capture information that could help best answer the study questions.

Pictures will be taken but only to capture the classroom and school environment in relation to language policy but will not include people.

The research will be carried out in the school and it will not in any way disrupt your school functions. The researcher will be in the school for two weeks period during which data will be collected. During interviews audio recordings will be made but only for the purposes of the study.

The hard copies of transcripts and audio tapes will be stored in safe bags with locks and on Mysite Utas cloud facility while in the field and later on the Launceston campus, University of Tasmania in locked cabinets accessible only by the researcher.

Names and other identifying information will be removed from these data and replaced with codes and pseudonyms. Computer files will be password protected and secured on a server in the Faculty of Education. At the completion of the study, all transcripts and field notes will be shredded.

After 5 years from publication of the report, data will be destroyed with computer files deleted and audio tapes destroyed.

Are there any possible benefits from participation in this study?

It is anticipated that you and your school will benefit as a result of your participation in the following ways;

As a participant in the study you will increase on your understanding of the subject matter (education language policy and implementation) derived from the discussions you will be engaged in with the researcher for the two weeks.

The fact that you will be engaged in a study that will be published and disseminated, adding to the body of knowledge out there is in itself a benefit since the study voices your contributions outside the confines of the classroom and school in general.

It is also anticipated that you will be better equipped in dealing with the dilemmas encountered by schools and teachers in implementation of language policy after the study due to the interactions with the researcher who pauses to have some wider knowledge in the study. This, the researcher, feels will offer greater confidence to you when executing the implementation process.

Are there any possible risks from participation in this study?

The study is considered to be of low risk. You are very unlikely to experience any adverse effects as a result of participating. If any aspect of unanticipated discomfort arises, you are at liberty to withdraw from the study with no explanation or consequences at any time.

If you do withdraw from the study, your data will be isolated and destroyed before you in the space of the two weeks in the school. Beyond this point however it may not be possible to remove all of your data from the study because identifiers will be removed when the interviews are transcribed. Individual data will not therefore be identifiable. During the duration of the study, data will be stored using the data storage facility at the University of Tasmania with a password lock. The data will be stored by the Faculty of Education at the University for 5 years after which it will be destroyed.

Children will not be active participants in the study and the study does not include them as such, however, during observations in the classroom they will be present. A letter attached is provided to you to give to children's parents explaining the purpose of the study. The researcher will also explain to the children in the presence of the teacher the reason for the researcher's presence, and how they are not direct participants.

The study will utilise observation technique in the classroom, this will also be communicated to the children beforehand so that a provision can be made for those who may not want to be observed, to shift them to a section of the class where they will still have their lesson as planned.

How will the results of the study be published?

Findings from the research study will be disseminated at conferences and in journal publications. A summary of results will be sent to you upon request. As previously mentioned you will not be identifiable in the publication of results from the study. However a hard copy can also be provided to each school that participated, upon request.

What if I have questions about this study?

For any questions or enquiries related to the study you can e-mail: mmuzoora@utas.edu.au, Greg.Ashman@utas.edu.au and Rosemary.Callingham@utas.edu.au

This study has been approved by the Tasmanian Social Sciences Human Research Ethics Committee. If you have concerns or complaints about the conduct of this study, please contact the Executive Officer of the HREC (Tasmania) Network on +61 3 6226 7479 or email human.ethics@utas.edu.au. The Executive Officer is the person nominated to receive complaints from research participants.

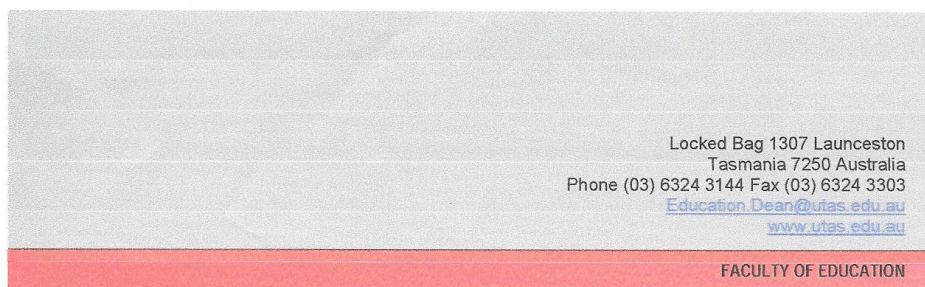
Please keep this information sheet and sign the attached consent form to be involved in the study.

Thank You for your participation

Enclosure:

- a. Request for approval
- b. Head teacher's Information sheet
- c. Consent form
- d. Notice to parents
- e. Letter from University
- f. Letter from the District Education Office

Appendix 5: Recommendation from the University



6 January 2014

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

RE: ASSISTANCE IN CONDUCTING FIELD WORK

This is to confirm that, Muzoora Michael, born 26-12-1973, is a PhD student in the Faculty of Education, University of Tasmania, Australia. Mr Muzoora is an Ugandan national.

As part of the requirements for his PhD programme, he will undertake research which will be conducted in Uganda. The fieldwork may incorporate interviews with educational practitioners, observations and document analysis. The type of data will, of course, be discussed with the relevant authorities prior to it being commenced.

Mr Muzoora's study is an important one and the work produced by him will be of use to both practically and policy-wise, to the future of his home country.

We kindly ask you to give Mr Muzoora, all possible assistance during his field work in Uganda.

Yours Sincerely,

Professor John Williamson
Dean, Faculty of Education

Appendix 6: Clearance from Kayunga District

OFFICER

District Education Officer:
Senior Education Officer
District Inspector of Schools:
Inspector of Schools - Nienjeru
Inspector of Schools

Email: dovanice@gmail.com

In any correspondence on this subject please quote

TELEPHONE

0772627510
0704126124
0772576309
0772544468
0772644603



THE REPUBLIC OF UGANDA

KAYUNGA DISTRICT LOCAL GOVERNMENT
The Directorate of Education and Sports
P.O. Box 18000

KAYUNGA

17th March, 2014

To:

The Headteachers of:

Ndeeba CU Primary School
Kayonjo Umea Primary School
Mt. Carmel Primary School

RE: MR. MUZOORA MICHAEL

This serves to introduce to you the above mentioned Phd. Research Student from the University of Tasmania in Australia.

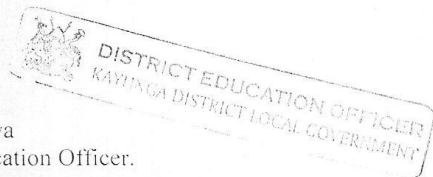
His mission is to carry out an investigation on the use of Area /Local Language as a mode of instruction in rural primary schools in Kayunga District with effect from 17th March 2014.

Accord him the necessary assistance to enable him accomplish this project

I thank you.



B.E.C. Alice Doya
Ag. District Education Officer.
Kayunga.



Distribution list:

1. The District Chairperson, Kayunga
2. The Resident District Commissioner, Kayunga
3. The Secretary for Education, Kayunga
4. The Chief Administrative Officer, Kayunga
5. The District Education Officer, Kayunga

Appendix 7: Communication to parents

Attachment 5

Private Bag 1307 Launceston
Tasmania 7250 Australia
Phone (03) 6324 3265 Fax (03) 6324 3048
www.utas.edu.au



SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

UNIVERSITY OF TASMANIA

Peril or Promise: The realities of the implementation of mother tongue/area language policy in the rural primary school classrooms of Uganda

Dear Parent,

Your child's school was identified as a potential candidate through a recommendation from the District Office (or the Head teacher at another school) for a study project on implementation of mother tongue/ area language policy. The policy is implemented in P1-P3 which is the class category of your child.

The study will be carried out by Muzoora Michael, a PhD student in education at the University of Tasmania being conducted in partial fulfillment of a PhD degree under the supervision of Assoc. Prof. Rosemary Callingham and Dr. Greg Ashman.

What is the purpose of this study?

This study will investigate the realities of the implementation of mother tongue/area languages in the rural classrooms of Kayunga and Mpigi districts. It will explore the dispositions, views and attitudes of the rural teachers towards the policy implementation. It will also explore Government's role in effecting attitude change among stakeholders to support the policy and policy implementation of mother tongue/area language policy.

Why has your child been invited to participate?

Your child's class has been selected to participate in the study because his/her school was identified as a potential candidate since the study is interested in the issues affecting mother tongue instruction at this level (P1-P3). However, the study focuses on teachers as major participants in the study and your child will not be involved directly in the study. Your child's involvement will only be coincidental by virtue of being in an observed classroom. The child will not be asked to share his/her thoughts, take photographs or anything that directly involves him/her in the study.

Your child's participation is however voluntary, with no consequences should you withdraw from the study. Alternative arrangements will be made with the class teacher, to have your child shifted to a section of the class that will not be observed and he/she will therefore attend the lesson as planned.

What am I required to do?

This letter is to communicate the study and notify you that it will be carried in your child's classroom. The study will not in any way disrupt the school routine. The study does not pose any risk to your child and therefore no likelihood of experiencing any adverse effects due to his/her coincidental involvement. You are therefore required to know about the existence of this study in your child's class and if in any way you feel that your child should not be involved at all even in situations where it is considered coincidental, you have the right to withdraw your child with no likely consequences by sending a communication to the head teacher.

What if I have questions about this study?

For any questions or enquiries related to the study you can talk to the head teacher or e-mail: mmuzaora@utas.edu.au, Greg.Ashman@utas.edu.au

"This study has been approved by the Tasmanian Social Sciences Human Research Ethics Committee. If you have concerns or complaints about the conduct of this study, please contact the Executive Officer of the HREC (Tasmania) Network on (03) 6226 7479 or email human.ethics@utas.edu.au. The Executive Officer is the person nominated to receive complaints from research participants. Please quote ethics reference number [Hxxxxx]."

Please keep this information sheet.

Thank you for your co-operation

Yours Sincerely,

Michael Muzoora

Appendix 8: Consent form for school

Attachment 7

Private Bag 1307 Launceston
Tasmania 7250 Australia
Phone +61 6324 3265 Fax +61 6324 3048
www.utas.edu.au



SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

Peril or Promise: The realities of the implementation of mother tongue/area language in the rural primary school classrooms of Uganda

U N I V E R S I T Y O F T A S M A N I A

This consent form is for schools invited to participate in the research study

I accept my school to take part in the research study named above.

1. I have read and understood the school approval Information Sheet for this study.
2. The nature and possible effects of the study have been explained to me.
3. I understand that the study involves the participation of schools to participate voluntarily in the study for a two week period.
4. I understand the study has been communicated to be genuine and relevant and I feel the school's participation will be beneficial.
5. I understand that all research data will be securely stored at University of Tasmania premises for five years from the publication of the study results, and will then be destroyed.
6. Any questions that I have asked relating to the school's participation in the study have been answered to my satisfaction.
7. I understand that the researcher will maintain confidentiality and that any information I supply to the researcher on behalf of the school will be used only for the purposes of the research.
8. I understand that the results of the study will be published so that the school cannot be identified as a participant.
9. I understand that my school's participation is voluntary and that I may withdraw its participation at any time without any effect.

If I so wish, I may request that any data I have supplied on behalf of the school be withdrawn from the research during the two weeks. or I understand that I will not be able to withdraw my school's data after completing the study since it will be collected anonymously.

I give consent for my school to participate in the study.
Head teacher's name on behalf of the participating school:

Head teacher's signature:

Date: _____

Statement by Investigator

☐

I have explained the project and the implications of participation in it to this volunteering school and I believe that the consent is informed and that he/she understands the implications of the school's participation.

If the Investigator has not had an opportunity to talk to participants prior to them participating, the following must be ticked.

☐

The school has received the Information Sheet where my details have been provided so schools have had the opportunity to contact me prior to consenting to participate in this project.

Investigator's name:

Investigator's signature:

Date: _____

Appendix 9: Interview schedules

NB. These questions are tentative and not all questions may be asked but will provide a guide to the discussions.

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE 1 FOR MOTHER TONGUE TEACHERS

Peril or Promise: The realities of the implementation of mother tongue/area language policy in the rural primary classrooms of Uganda

The questionnaire is anonymous so your identity will not be disclosed

The purpose of this research is to collect information that will lead to a compilation of the above quest in implementation of mother tongue/area language in the rural areas of Uganda. Hence the information collected will assist in this study.

Your participation will assist in contributing to this research which may inform policy and implementation of mother tongue language delivery. Hence informing stakeholders on the realities of this language policy.

Your participation is highly appreciated, **THANK YOU!**

SECTION A RQ.1

| | | A | B | C | D |
|--|--|----------|-------------------------------------|-------------|-----------|
| 1. Please describe the classes you teach | | P1 | P2 | P3 | P4 |
| 2. What is the language of instruction you use in the classes you teach? | | English | Luganda(Kayunga) Luganda (Mpigi) | Both | |
| 3. For how long have you been teaching at this level | | <5 years | 6-10 years | 11-15 years | >16 years |
| 4. In which language you are most | | English | Luganda | | |

| | | | | | |
|---|--|-------------|-------------|--|-----------|
| competent in when teaching | | | | | |
| 5. Gender | | M | F | | |
| 6. Age | | 20-29 years | 30-39 years | 40-49 years | >50 years |
| 7. What is your qualification level | | Certificate | Diploma | Degree | Master |
| Issue/Topic General understanding of policy | RQ.2 | YES | NO | Probes | |
| Opinions on Policy | 1. Do you have knowledge about the current language policy in education? | | | <i>Please elaborate</i> | |
| 2. Do you feel that this policy will help your learners to achieve academically? | | | | <i>Why do you think so?</i> | |
| 3. If you were able to contribute to the policy, would you be willing to? | | | | <i>What aspects would you consider changing?</i> | |
| 4. Will learning in mother tongue (MT) enable children to perform better in English language in future? | | | | <i>Why do you think so?</i> | |
| 5. Will the use of MT in teaching degrade the teaching profession in Uganda? | | | | <i>Why do you think so?</i> | |

PART B**RQ.3****Situational setting/ Context**

| | | | | | |
|--|-----------------------------------|--|--|----|------|
| 1. Do you come from this community/area? | | | Where? | | |
| 2. Do you know the languages used in the area? | | | What are they? | | |
| 3. Do you know who determines the language to use in the classroom? | | | Who? What is your opinion on this? | | |
| 4. Do your classes include learners from varied ethnic backgrounds? | | | If yes, which ones? | | |
| 5. Do you consider your class to be over populated? | | | How many children? | | |
| 6. Do you incorporate the language policy into your teaching program? | | | If yes, How? Or If no, why not? | | |
| 7. Do you find any challenges? | | | What challenges? | | |
| 8. Do you try to overcome these challenges? | | | How? | | |
| 9. Do you also teach English as a subject at this level? | | | What do you feel about it? | | |
| 10. Do you use English when teaching the curriculum at times? | | | If yes, why? | | |
| 11. Do you think instruction in English at this level is beneficial? | | | If yes, How? Or If not, why? | | |
| 12. How do you relate the classroom situation when English is used? | | | | | |
| 13. Do you have any training in MT instruction and teaching? | | | Please elaborate? Did you find the training adequate? | | |
| 14. Do you feel the pupils are ready at end of P4 to study various subjects in English? | | | Why? | | |
| 15. What is the general opinion among other teachers in the school about MT instruction? | Does it influence you in any way? | | Yes | NO | How? |
| 16. What is the general opinion of parents and the community | Does it influence you in any | | Yes | NO | How? |

| | | | | |
|-----------------------|------|--|--|--|
| about MT instruction? | way? | | | |
|-----------------------|------|--|--|--|

PART C (follow up questions)**RQ.2**

| | | | | |
|--|--|--|--|-------------------------|
| 1. Are pupils able to read and write competently by P4 in MT? | | | <i>At what level do you think they are able?</i> | <i>Why?</i> |
| 2. From your observations are these students able to read and write competently in MT and English by end of P7? | | | <i>What do you base on to say so?</i> | |
| 3. Do you find yourself confronted with some dilemmas when implementing policy? (policy says this but in reality not applicable) | | | <i>Which?</i> | <i>How do you cope?</i> |
| 4. Are the methodologies used and time frames for the implementation process communicated to you? | | | <i>What are they and who communicates them?</i> | |
| 5. Do you carry out assessments and evaluations to measure the implementation process? | | | <i>How is it done?</i> | |

PART D (Role of Ministry of Education [MoE]) RQ.4

| | | | | |
|--|--|--|--|--|
| 1. Do you think MoE has been significant in influencing the attitudes of those negative to the policy? | | | <i>If no, why do you say so?</i> <i>If yes, in what ways is MoE doing this?</i> | |
| 2. Has MoE provided any media or other campaigns to support MT? | | | <i>Which?</i> | |
| 3. Do you think there are better ways the MoE can promote positive attitudes on MT instruction among stakeholders? | | | <i>How?</i> | |

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE 2 FOR TEACHERS (Outside Mother tongue bracket)

TITLE OF THE STUDY: Peril or Promise: The realities of the implementation of mother tongue/area language in the rural primary classrooms of Uganda

The questionnaire is anonymous so your identity will not be disclosed

The purpose of this research is to collect information that will lead to a compilation of the above quest in implementation of mother tongue area language in the rural areas of Uganda. Hence the information collected will assist in this study.

Your participation will assist in contributing to this research which may inform policy and implementation of mother tongue language delivery. Hence informing stakeholders on the realities of this language policy.

Your participation is highly appreciated, **THANK YOU!**

SECTION A

RQ.1

| | | A | B | C | D |
|--|--|-------------|------------|-------------|-----------|
| 1.Please describe the classes you teach | | P.4 | P.5 | P.6 | P.7 |
| 2. What is your qualification level? | | Certificate | Diploma | Degree | Master |
| 3. What is the language of instruction you use in the classes you teach? | | English | Luganda | Both | |
| 4. For how long have you been teaching at this level? | | <5 Years | 6-10 Years | 11-15 Years | >16 Years |
| 5.In which language you are most competent when teaching | | English | Luganda | | |
| 6.Gender | | M | F | | |

| | | | | | | |
|---|--|-------------|-------------|-------------|-----------|--|
| 7.Age | | 20-29 Years | 30-39 Years | 40-49 Years | >50 Years | |
| | | | | | | |
| Issue/Topic General understanding of policy | RQ.2 | | | YES | NO | Probes |
| Opinions on Policy | 1. Do you have knowledge about the current language policy in education? | | | | | <i>Please elaborate</i> |
| 2. Do you feel that this policy will help your learners to achieve academically? | | | | | | <i>Why do you think so?</i> |
| 3 If you were able to contribute to the policy, would you be willing to? | | | | | | <i>What aspects would you consider changing?</i> |
| 4. Will learning in mother tongue (MT) enable children to perform better in English language in future? | | | | | | <i>Why do you think so?</i> |
| 5. Will the use of MT in teaching degrade the teaching profession in Uganda? | | | | | | <i>Why do you think so?</i> |

PART .B

Situational setting/ Context

RQ.1/RQ.3

| | | | |
|---|--|--|---|
| 1. Do you come from this community/area? | | | <i>Where?</i> |
| 2. Are you aware of the languages used in the area? | | | <i>What are they?</i> |
| 3. Do you know who determines the language to use in the classroom? | | | <i>Who? What is your opinion on this?</i> |
| 4. Do your classes include learners from varied ethnic backgrounds? | | | <i>If yes, which ones?</i> |
| 5. Do you consider your class over populated? | | | <i>How many children?</i> |
| 6. Do you incorporate the language policy into your teaching program? | | | <i>How?</i> |
| 7. Have you found any challenges? | | | <i>What challenges?</i> |
| 8. Have you tried to overcome these challenges? | | | <i>How do you do this?</i> |

| | | | | | |
|--|-----------------------------------|-----|--|-------------|--|
| 9. Do you use English only when teaching the curriculum? | | | <i>If no, why?</i> | | |
| 10. Do you think instruction in English at this level is beneficial? | | | <i>How?</i> | | |
| 11. Have you had any training in MT instruction and teaching? | | | <i>Please elaborate? Did you find the training adequate?</i> | | |
| 12. Do you feel the pupils are ready at end of P4 to study various subjects in English? | | | <i>Why?</i> | | |
| 13. What is the general opinion of parents and the community about MT instruction? | Does it influence you in any way? | YES | NO | <i>How?</i> | |
| 14. From your observations are these students able to read and write competently in MT and English by end of P7? | | | <i>What do you think is the problem?</i> | | |

PART D RQ.3

| | | | | | |
|---|--|--|--|--|--|
| 1. Do you encounter some of the problems when instructing in English? | | | <i>What problems? How have you tried to overcome each of them?</i> | | |
| 2. Are there some satisfactory indicators that pupils are able to read and write by P4 in MT? | | | <i>At what level do you think they are able?</i> | | |
| 3. Do students encounter problems in the classroom as a result of the MT policy? | | | <i>What problems?</i> | | |
| 4. Do you try to overcome these problems? | | | <i>How?</i> | | |
| 5. Do you consider the MT policy a success or failure? | | | <i>Why?</i> | | |
| 6. Do you think there is an alternative appropriate way forward? | | | <i>Please explain?</i> | | |

PART E. (Role of Ministry of Education [MoE]) RQ.4

| | | | | | |
|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| 1. Do you think MoE has been significant in influencing the attitudes of those negative to the policy? | | | <i>If no, why do you say so? If yes, in what ways is MoE doing this?</i> | | |
| 2. Has government (MoE) provided any media or other campaigns to support MT? | | | <i>Which ones? Are they</i> | | |

| | | | | |
|--|--|--|------------------------|--|
| | | | <i>effective? How?</i> | |
| 3. Do you think there are better ways the MoE can promote positive attitudes on MT instruction among stakeholders? | | | | |

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE 3 FOR HEAD TEACHERS

Peril or Promise: The realities of the implementation of mother tongue/area language in the rural primary classrooms of Uganda

The questionnaire is anonymous so your identity will not be disclosed

The purpose of this research is to collect information that will lead to a compilation of the above quest in implementation of mother tongue area language in the rural areas of Uganda. Hence the information collected will assist in this study.

Your participation will assist in contributing to this research which may inform policy and implementation of mother tongue language delivery. Hence informing stakeholders on the realities of this language policy.

Your participation is highly appreciated, **THANK YOU!**

SECTION A

RQ.1

| | A | B | C | D |
|--|-------------|-------------------------|-------------|-----------|
| 1. Please describe the classes you teach | P1-P2 | P3-P4 | P5-P6 | P7 |
| 2. What is your qualification level? | Certificate | Diploma | Degree | Master |
| 3. What is the language of instruction you use in the classes you teach? | English | Luganda (Mpigi/Kayunga) | Both | |
| 4. For how long have you been a Head Teacher? | <5 Years | 6-10 Years | 11-15 Years | >16 Years |
| 5. In which language are you most competent in when teaching | English | Luganda | | |
| 6. Gender | M | F | | |

| 7. Age | | 20-29 Years | 30-39 Years | 40-49 Years | >50 Years |
|--|---|-------------|-------------|-------------|--|
| Issue/Topic General understanding of policy | RQ.2 | | | YES | NO |
| Opinions on Policy | 1. Do you have knowledge about the current language policy in education? | | | | <i>Please elaborate</i> |
| | 2. Do you feel that this is the right policy for your learners to achieve academically? | | | | <i>Why do you think so?</i> |
| | 3. If you were able to contribute to the policy, would you be willing? | | | | <i>What aspects would you consider changing?</i> |
| | 4. Will learning in mother tongue (MT) enable children to perform well in English language in future? | | | | <i>Why do you think so?</i> |
| | 5. Will the use of MT in teaching degrade the teaching profession in Uganda? | | | | <i>Why do you think so?</i> |

PART .B**RQ.3**

| | | | |
|---|--|--|----------------------------------|
| 1. Do you come from this community/area? | | | <i>Where?</i> |
| 2. Are you aware of the languages used in the area? | | | <i>What are they?</i> |
| 3. Do you incorporate the language policy into your teaching program? | | | <i>How?</i> |
| 4. As a school, have you encountered some dilemmas in executing the MT policy? | | | <i>What are these dilemmas?</i> |
| 5. Have you as a school compromised some practices required by the MT policy and those actually carried out by teachers to make the policy a success? | | | <i>Why?</i> |
| 6. Are there other challenges you have encountered in implementing MT policy? | | | <i>What are they?</i> |
| 7. Have you tried to overcome them as a school? | | | <i>How?</i> |
| 8. Do you think the policy can succeed without involving the participation of the community? | | | <i>If yes, how?</i> |
| 6. If not, have you involved community participate to make the policy a success? | | | <i>How?</i> |
| 7. Is there any way you cater for learners of different language backgrounds in P1-P4? | | | <i>If yes, how? /If no, why?</i> |

| | | | |
|--|--|--|---------------------------|
| 8. Do you think the MT policy has changed anything in your school? | | | <i>Please, elaborate?</i> |
| 9. Has the school motivated and recognised the MT teachers? | | | <i>How?</i> |
| 10. Are there any initiatives put in place by the school to make the policy a success? | | | <i>What are they?</i> |

PART C**RQ.2**

| | | | | | | |
|---|--|--|-----------------------------------|-----|----|------|
| 1. Do you think the MoE is doing enough to support MT instruction? | | | If yes? What/ If no, why? | | | |
| 2. Do you feel the pupils are ready at end of P4 to study various subjects in English? | | | Why? | | | |
| 3. If you disagree, in your opinion, what advice would you provide? | | | | | | |
| 4. What is the general opinion among other teachers in the school about MT instruction? | | | Does it influence you in any way? | Yes | No | How? |
| 5. What about the parents and the community? | | | Does it influence you in any way? | Yes | No | How? |

PART D**RQ.3**

| | | | | |
|---|--|--|---|--|
| 1. Are there some satisfactory indicators that pupils are able to read and write competently by P4 in MT? | | | At what level do you think they are able? | |
| 2. From your observations are these students able to read and write competently in MT and English by end of P7? | | | What do you think should be done? | |
| 3. If not, what would you consider to be the cause of this occurrence? | | | | |
| 4. Would you agree that at end of primary seven pupils should be given an option of answering the examination in language of preference (MT or English) | | | Why? | |

PART E (Role of Ministry of Education [MoE]) RQ.4

| | | | | |
|---|--|--|--|----------|
| 1. Do you think MoE has been significant in influencing the attitudes of those negative to the policy? | | | If no, why do you say so? If yes, in what ways is MoE doing this? | |
| 2. Has MoE provided any media or other campaigns to support MT? | | | Which ones? Are they effective? | How? |
| 3. Is there any implementation programme you are following? Evaluations, methodologies, time frames... | | | How do they get to be communicated? | By whom? |
| 4. Elaborate on the time frames, methods and assessments and evaluations that school follows while carrying out the implementation process? | | | | |
| 5. Do you think there are better ways the MoE can promote positive attitudes on MT instruction among stakeholders? | | | What are they? | |